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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 66/NO. 34 SEPTEMBER 16, 2002

INSIDE
Malcolm X: 'See, think, and decide for yourselves'
— PAGES 8–9

'We fight imperialism and its drive to war'

Campaigns present socialist alternative for working people

BY JACK WILLEY

"My campaign presents a working-class alternative to the brutal offensive by the ruling rich against working people abroad and at home," stated Lisa Rottach at an August 27 press conference in the working-class community of south Omaha as she launched her campaign for governor of Nebraska.

As Rottach spoke with a reporter from the *Omaha World Herald* and was filmed by a crew from Channel 7 news, campaigners leafleted passersby. Among the supporters were four of the candidate's co-workers at ConAgra Northern States Beef. They had just come off work at the plant.

Earlier in the day, one of Rottach's campaign supporters made an impromptu announcement in the ConAgra cafeteria. "*Compañeros*! We must support candidate Lisa! She is the workers' candidate for governor and says what we workers deserve. Vote for her! Stop by the campaign table after work!"

The next morning, many co-workers said they saw the press conference on television or heard about the campaign from others. Several people asked for leaflets. "We had nonstop discussion all day long. We talked about the role of the Democrats and Repub-

Continued on Page 11

Militant: clockwise from above: Birgitta Isacsson, Betsey Stone, Jay Paradiso

Campaigning for socialism, clockwise from above: Daniel Ahl, Communist League candidate for parliament in Sweden, at Stockholm antifascist rally; Chessie Molano and Joel Britton, Socialist Workers candidates for Illinois lieutenant governor and governor, at hotel workers' action in Chicago; Robert Meyer, campaigning in South Omaha with Young Socialists for Lisa Rottach, the SWP candidate for governor of Nebraska.

Help fund books that working people want

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Supporters of Pathfinder's books on revolutionary working-class politics have launched a $105,000 fund-raising campaign. The effort kicks off September 1 and culminates November 17.

The $105,000 is needed for Pathfinder to keep producing books that workers and farmers need. A dozen new Pathfinder titles will be rolling off the presses between now and the end of the year. And more than 30 existing titles—many of them sold out or running out—are being reprinted.

A growing number of working people and youth are seeking out such books to understand the brutal and volatile life they will more and more face and to act in defense of their interests.

They sense the increasing signs that capitalism is dragging millions toward a massive debt collapse and a depression that has already begun in parts of the world. They hear top U.S. officials assert the government's "right" to carry out secret trials and detentions in defiance of the Bill of Rights. They see Washington laying the groundwork to launch a "preemptive" war against Iraq—an imperialist war that will

Continued on Page 15

Cheney speech builds U.S. ruling-class support for a new war to conquer Iraq

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

U.S. vice president Richard Cheney turned up the preparations for a new imperialist war against the people of Iraq a notch August 25, openly stating Washington's goal of taking "preemptive action" to overthrow the government in Baghdad.

The speech, given to a war veterans' organization, was the first major public presentation of a course Washington has been on for some months. Cheney asserted that the government of Iraq has acquired "weapons of mass destruction" and claimed that Baghdad has "been very busy enhancing its capabilities in the field of chemical and biological agents," and has continued "to pursue its nuclear program."

The vice president added that White House officials will "participate fully in the hearings that will be held in Congress next month on this vitally important issue." In promising to "consult" with Congress, Cheney underlined the government's decision that it needs no approval from the legislative branch to go to war.

Cheney dismissed the tactical criticisms of several well-known figures. Among the most prominent of these has been James Baker, who served as secretary of state during the 1990–91 assault on Iraq, unleashed by the administration of the first President

Continued on Page 2

Boeing seeks concessions; union says no

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

SEATTLE—Several hundred members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and their supporters marched and rallied near the Seattle Tacoma Airport August 25 in opposition to the concessions the Boeing Corporation seeks to implement in a proposed contract.

The pact covers some 25,000 workers, mostly in the Seattle-Puget Sound area, but also in Wichita, Kansas, and Portland, Oregon.

On August 26 union negotiators rejected the latest three-year contract offer from the company. IAM officials announced that they would urge their membership to vote down the proposal. If the contract is turned down a strike vote is expected to pass, lead-

Continued on Page 11

Tiff over FBI's deceptive wiretaps highlights character of secret court

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

A secret court that sits at the top of the Justice Department building in Washington, D.C., loyally approving every wiretap request made by the FBI for 24 years, has suddenly made public a conflict it has with the executive branch of government.

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court has chastised federal agents operating during the Bush and Clinton administrations for deceptive handling of wiretap requests.

The May 17 ruling has just been made public. It said that FBI agents submitted 75 misleading applications under the Clinton administration and an unspecified number between September 2000 and March 2001. One request was signed by Louis Freeh, director of the FBI at the time. The court has barred one FBI agent from ever appearing before it again because of repeated inaccuracies in wiretap application forms.

In the 24 years since it was founded the court has approved 10,000 wiretaps for federal snoops. It has not turned down a single request. The secret court was established so

Continued on Page 12

Notice to our readers:
This is a two-week issue of the *Militant* for staff vacations. The next paper will be printed on September 12.

World's biggest banks tighten their squeeze on Argentine government

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Big imperialist banks are demanding that the International Monetary Fund back off from signing an agreement with the government of Argentina. Bank officials say that no deal should be signed until laws they deem overly favorable to debtors are stricken from the books.

The pressure came as the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF) closed in on a pact for Argentina to roll over interest payments on its $141 billion debt. Getting wind of the move, the Association of Argentine Banks, which represents the local subsidiaries of international banking groups such as Citibank, and the largest banks in the United Kingdom and Spain, went into action, meeting with ambassadors from major imperialist countries and notifying the IMF about their profit concerns.

Last December the government of Fernando de la Rúa defaulted on some $100 billion in bonds and loans, as the effects of a three-year recession gripped the country. Working-class protests exploded in cities across Argentina in the face of unprecedented unemployment, plunging living standards, and moves by the government to take even more out of the hides of working people in order to pay U.S. banks and other international creditors.

De la Rúa's administration had carried out an austerity drive at the behest of the IMF,

Continued on Page 10

Also Inside:

Shoe workers in Indonesia protest layoffs 3

Farmers discuss ongoing battle against Agriculture Department discrimination 4

Expanding communist propaganda and political education of working people 5

Puerto Rican patriots condemn plans by U.S. Navy to renew bombing of Vieques 7

Longshore strikers in Brooklyn fight concessions 15

Cheney builds U.S. ruling-class support for war against Iraq

Continued from front page

Bush. In a *New York Times* op-ed column entitled, "The Right Way to Change a Regime," Baker endorsed the Bush government's trajectory.

A "regime change," he wrote, "will not happen through internal revolt," but through "the application of military force, including sufficient ground troops to occupy the country...depose the current leadership and install a successor government."

Baker advised the administration to present a motion to the United Nations Security Council requiring Iraq to "submit to intrusive inspections anytime, anywhere." Should Baghdad fail to cooperate in any way, he wrote, "we should apply whatever means are necessary to change the regime."

In his speech Cheney said such maneuvers would only buy Saddam Hussein "time to husband his resources."

The *Washington Post*, a U.S. ruling-class mouthpiece, said in an August 27 editorial that Cheney had presented a "powerful case," and was "passionate and persuasive in describing the menace the administration sees in Saddam Hussein." The editorial encouraged the administration to be "as convincing in laying out its vision of a solution."

In their articles neither the *Post* nor ruling-class figures such as Baker asked for proof of the White House assertions about Iraq, or questioned the policy of preemptive military assaults by Washington against sovereign nations.

German chancellor Gerhard Schröder and France's foreign minister Dominique de Villepin distanced themselves from Washington's course. Instead, they propose aggressive moves under United Nations cover to demand Iraq allow the return of weapons inspectors "without condition." Berlin and Paris are uneasy about the U.S. rulers' drive to a war that, if victorious, would strengthen Washington's grip on Middle East oil reserves and massively boost its political and military presence in the region.

Officials of the governments of Qatar, which hosts a major U.S. military base, and Egypt both stated they opposed a U.S. war against Iraq. During a televised meeting with university students in the city of Alexandria, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak said he had warned Washington that if Iraq was attacked while "Palestinians are still being killed" by the Israeli armed forces, "this would lead to a dangerous situation. "Not one Arab leader would be able to control the angry outburst of the masses," he said.

But the remarks by Washington's imperialist rivals, and the heads of semicolonial governments in the Middle East, have been dismissed by U.S. officials.

During a speech to 3,000 Marines at Camp Pendleton on August 27, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said, "Leadership in the right direction finds followers and supporters. It's less important to have unanimity than it is to be making the right decisions...even though at the outset it may seem lonesome." He added, "I've found over the years...that other countries do cooperate and they do participate."

On the day of Rumsfeld's remarks, U.S. and British warplanes attacked Iraqi radar sites and air defense posts in the imperialist-declared no-fly zones in the north and south of the country. Meanwhile, the Pentagon has notified more than 14,000 reservists of the likelihood that they will serve up to two years instead of one.

One government that has come out in full support of the U.S. course is Tel Aviv. "Any postponement of an attack on Iraq at this stage will serve no purpose," said Ranaan Gissin, an aide to Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon. Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer told the press that "I told the Americans, and I repeat it: Don't expect us to continue to live with the process of restraint. If they hit us, we reserve the right of response."

Iraqi preparations

As this discussion unfolds in U.S. ruling circles, Iraqi soldiers are digging defensive positions around Baghdad and elsewhere,

"raising the specter of urban warfare," reported the August 26 *New York Times*. "They will use built-up areas...to make up for their lack of mobility and technology," predicted a former Marine general.

"I don't think they can handle the synergy of American military power, the violence and speed," said Gen. Barry McCaffrey, a veteran of the Gulf War massacres. "A war could entail a few thousand U.S. casualties."

At a several-hour meeting on August 27 with the Saudi Arabian ambassador, Bush was unable to budge Riyadh from its refusal to date to allow the U.S. Air Force to use Saudi airspace or soil in the event of war. Relations between Washington and the pro-imperialist monarchy have worsened in the wake of the September 11 attacks and the deepened Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Even the close economic dependency of the Saudi monarchy on U.S. imperialism has shown signs of fraying in recent weeks. The *Wall Street Journal*, a vehement critic of Riyadh's policies, observed in an editorial that "Saudi Arabia's vast oil reserves look less important these days with new sources in Russia and Central Asia."

Saudi capitalists have withdrawn as much as $200 billion from the United States over the past few months, out of total holdings of up to $600 billion. The withdrawal stunned commentators. One European economist opined that the Saudi disinvestment is part of a broader "global move to reduce U.S. exposure."

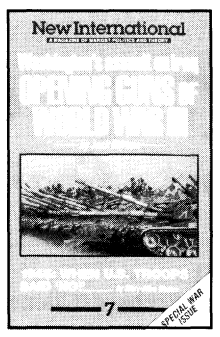
In his August 25 speech, Cheney also reassured critics like Baker that the White Hose is preparing for a long stay in the event of military victory. "With our help, a liberated Iraq can be a great nation once again," he said, and drew a parallel with Afghanistan, where, he said, "the world has seen that America acts not to conquer, but to liberate."

On an August 25 imperial visit to Afghanistan, Gen. Thomas Franks, the head of the U.S. central command, said that U.S. forces will step up their activity in neighboring countries. "The remarks appeared aimed at Pakistan, where U.S. intelligence officials believe many of the remaining al Qaeda operatives have fled," observed the *Financial Times*. Up to 100 FBI agents already function inside Pakistan, joining local police in sweeps of suspected al Qaeda hideouts.

for further reading

Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq



Jack Barnes

The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. In *New International* no. 7. $12.00

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'We've had enough of miserable wages'

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Shoe workers in Indonesia protest layoffs

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Three thousand shoe factory workers marched in Indonesia's capital city of Jakarta August 21 to protest Nike's decision to terminate contracts with their employer, PT Doson, in November. Nike's decision will mean the loss of 7,000 jobs. Rallying outside the U.S. embassy and the presidential palace, the workers chanted, "Nike—your shoes are full of blood and tears," and "You're the devil and we're the victims."

The company's bosses "are just exploiting the workers, getting their profit and then leaving," said Rustam Aksam, president of the Indonesian Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers' Union. Workers said that PT Doson had offered them "consolation" payouts of between $66 and $132. "We just want proper severance pay," said one.

Forty-eight Indonesian factories employing 123,000 workers operate under contract to the giant U.S. shoemaker, producing an annual total of between 45 million and 55 million pairs of shoes, all but 2 percent of which are exported. Some 300,000 Indonesian workers toil in factories contracted to foreign shoe companies.

On July 29, 1,000 workers from PT Primarindo Asia Infrastructure, a Bandung factory that manufactures shoes for Reebok, staged their own protest in Jakarta to condemn the company's reductions in their orders, which have left 5,400 workers jobless. "Reebok are killers! Reebok are exploiters," chanted the workers as they set fire to a giant cardboard replica of a training shoe.

According to the chairman of the Indonesian Footwear Manufacturers' Association, the bosses have slashed the jobs of 200,000 workers over the past three years. "Indonesia's non-oil exports fell 6.7 percent in the first half of this year," reported the August 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "as businesses such as garment- and shoe-manufacturing lost billions of dollars in orders to competitors in China and Vietnam, where wages are lower and strikes fewer."

The Indonesian government says that unemployment may be as high as 38 million people across the country. The May 2 Singapore *Straits Times* reported that "analysts' estimates put the number of Indonesians without full-time, steady jobs at closer to 80 million, more than one-third of the population."

Plantation workers strike

Strikes and protests in the country extend beyond the shoe and garment industry and also beyond Java, the most developed of the four main islands. On August 13, for example, some 25,000 workers walked off the job at PT Perkebunan Nusantara II, a government-owned producer of palm oil and tobacco on the island of Sumatra.

"The workers went on strike because management refused to make hundreds of contract-based workers permanent and to comply with the standard minimum wage for the province," said Teruna Sinulingga, the deputy chairman of the union at the plantation. The monthly minimum wage stands at 464,000 rupiah (US$52).

"After three decades of sometimes brutal suppression under President Suharto," reported the August 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "workers are fighting for their rights and turning up the heat on managers, who never had to worry about labor negotiations before." The U.S.-backed dictator came to power through a bloodbath unleashed in 1965–66 against growing labor and peasant movements. Washington and other imperialist powers backed the regime as it slaughtered up to a million workers and peasants, whose potential power had been politically demobilized by the Stalinist-dominated misleadership of the mass organizations.

Suharto resigned in 1998 in face of mounting student protests, which began to draw in workers and others. The mobilizations convinced Washington and growing layers of the Indonesian bourgeoisie that he could no longer maintain stable rule.

Ranks of unions grow

"From just one state-sponsored union during the Suharto era, Indonesia now has 62 national unions and an estimated 11,000 operating locally," continued the *Journal.* "Using strikes and political lobbying, labor groups have won minimum-wage increases of as much as 85 percent a year in some regions."

Indonesia's labor department reported in May that in 2000, the latest year for which statistics are available, the number of strikes jumped to 273, more than double the previous year, and involved 1.3 million workers.

The *Jakarta Post*, an English-language daily, noted on August 20 that "Bandung has been rocked" by "several labor rallies and student demonstrations over the last few years...held to protest low minimum wages, increases in the price of basic commodities, fuel price increases, and hikes in telephone and electricity rates."

In the last month workers in a number of cities have led actions against antistrike legislation introduced by the government of Megawati Sukharnoputri. Workers prosecuted under the law "would be liable to fines of Rp 400 million (US$45,000) and four years in prison," said Etty Rostiawaty, coordinator of the Action Committee for Laborer Solidarity in Bandung. On August 19 the committee mobilized more than 3,000 workers from textile and other factories to protest the proposed legislation.

Policemen attempting to block the path of people joining the demonstration opened fire, hitting two workers in the head and leg. Both were hospitalized. The police chief claimed that "we had no choice" but to shoot.

U.S. aids Indonesian security forces

Although initial and not widespread, this restiveness among working people provides the backdrop for the U.S. government's moves to expand its collaboration with the Indonesian police. During a recent visit to Jakarta, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell said the time is right to "start down a road toward greater military-to-military cooperation and more work with [Indonesia's] police forces."

The police will be the biggest beneficiaries of a two-year package totaling $50 million in training and other assistance. Providing cover for this intervention, administration officials have repeatedly alleged that Indonesia—in the words of the *Washington Post*—"risks becoming the next haven for international terrorism."

The package helps pave the way for moves to restore open links between Washington and the Indonesian security forces, and to undermine Congressional measures enacted in 1992 and 1999 that ended official training programs and arms sales. Through these bans, U.S. politicians attempted to publicly separate Washington from bloody attacks on independence forces in East Timor organized by officers of the Indonesian armed forces, which have long received Washington's political and financial backing.

On August 15 an Indonesian court cleared two police and four army officers of charges of failing to stop a 1999 massacre by anti-independence forces of at least 27 people on East Timor. Human rights activists in Indonesia said that crucial evidence had not been presented, and that the Indonesian government had refused to guarantee the safety of East Timorese witnesses.

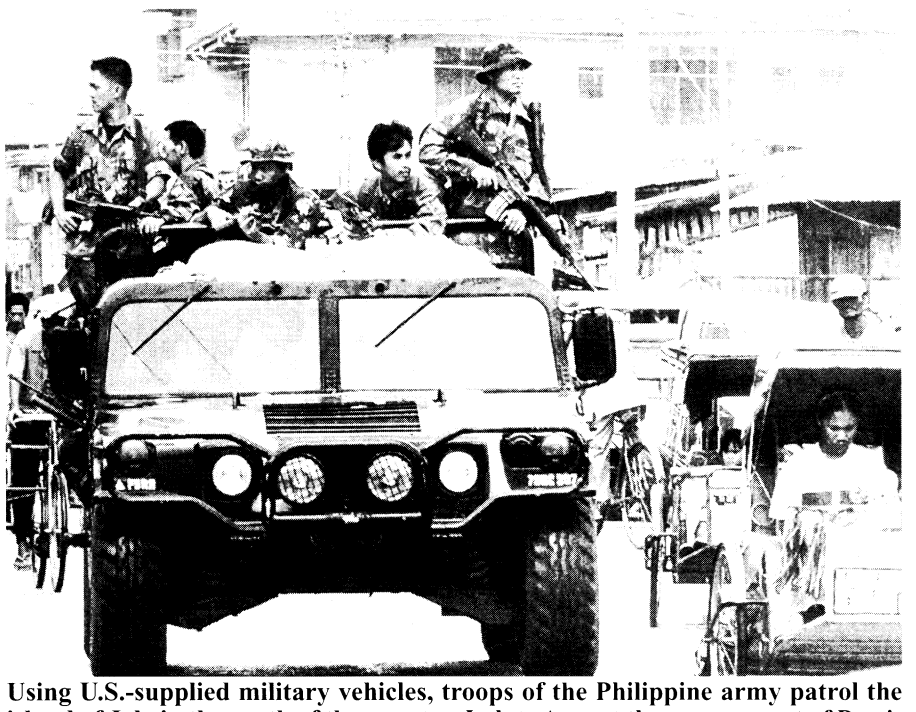
"It would be inappropriate for me to comment on the legal proceedings," said Adm. Thomas Fargo, the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, who was in Jakarta at the time of the verdict. An unnamed U.S. official described the result as a "disappointment."

Mounting foreign debt burden

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has appealed for the restructuring of its debt to imperialist banks and financial institutions. The country's public debt amounts to $155 billion. The World Bank estimates that payments on the debt will take 44 percent of national revenue in 2002.

"The huge amount of Indonesia's domestic debt is really scary," said Soedradjad Djiwandono, quoted in the January 12–13 *International Herald Tribune*. "The sad thing," he added, "is that the banks are not healthy yet." The *Tribune* noted that the prices of "rice, sugar, palm oil, fish, and meat have...risen sharply, raising fears of social unrest in a country already riven by sectarian and separatist conflict."

Philippine army boosts forces in south



Using U.S.-supplied military vehicles, troops of the Philippine army patrol the island of Jolo in the south of the country. In late August the government of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo reinforced the three regular infantry battalions on the island with scout ranger units and other troops. Until their withdrawal at the end of July, some 1,200 U.S. soldiers were stationed alongside the Philippine armed forces in the area, carrying out training exercises during the hunt for the Abu Sayyaf organization. Washington organized the intervention under the guise of rooting out "terrorists" in the south, where the Muslim religion predominates.

U.S. gov't is 'world's most aggressive jailer'

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

A new Justice Department document, "Probation and Parole in the United States, 2001," reports that the number of people held in U.S. prisons grew by 147,000 last year to 6.6 million. One in every 32 adults was either on probation or parole, or in prison.

"America has overtaken Russia as the world's most aggressive jailer," the August 10 issue of London's *Economist* explained. For similar offenses, the big-business magazine noted, a U.S. resident "is more likely to go to prison and draw a longer sentence than his European peer."

The article cited statistics compiled by researchers at the University of Minnesota and Northwestern University near Chicago revealing that the percentage of the population incarcerated in state and federal prisons more than quadrupled from 110 people per 100,000 in 1973 to 478 per 100,000 in 2000. When local jails are included in the total, the imprisonment rate balloons to nearly 700 people per 100,000 in the United States. This compares with 102 in Canada, 85 in France, and 48 in Japan.

With just 5 percent of the world's population, the United States claims 25 percent of all inmates.

The greatest expansion of people in jail came during the eight years of the Democratic administration of President William Clinton. With bipartisan support from Congress, the former president signed legislation expanding mandatory prison sentences and increasing their length, reduced protections against arbitrary search and seizure by the cops and courts, and financed a record increase of more police on the streets. Combined with the so-called "war on drugs," this legislation led to the doubling of the U.S. prison population to 2 million people.

The *Economist* noted the impact of mandatory sentences. In the mid-1970s, three in four U.S. prisoners were released after appearing before a parole board. Now only 30 percent of prisoners appear before a parole board; the rest are released when they have done their time. In the 10 years after 1986 the average time spent in federal prison rose from 39 to 54 months.

The article is a reminder of how the capitalist justice system reinforces the worst dog-eat-dog values of bourgeois society. In some states ex-convicts are barred from certain types of jobs and can be excluded from public housing. In Illinois for example, ex-felons cannot get hired in 57 types of professions.

Many of those behind bars suffer from deteriorating health. In 1997 some 25 percent of the people in the United States with AIDS or the HIV virus had come out of prison that year. The numbers increased for tuberculosis and hepatitis C. In the late 1980s when a resistant strain of TB plagued New York, 80 percent of the cases were traced to prisons.

The *Economist* also noted the denial of voting rights for U.S. prisoners. Most state governments bar inmates and ex-convicts from participating in elections, disenfranchising 4.7 million U.S. citizens or 2.3 percent of the voting population. The figure is nearly 17 percent for Black men in Kentucky and Virginia.

Lockdowns and solitary confinement

In some states prison authorities have imposed tighter restrictions on inmates by not only curtailing paroles, but reducing family visits and increasing the use of solitary confinement as punishment for "misbehavior." Many "amenities" inside prisons have already been eliminated, including education programs that allowed inmates to obtain college degrees while behind bars.

Fully one-third of all young Black males today are either in prison, on parole, or on probation. According to the Bureau of Justice statistics, at the end of 2001 there were 3,535 Black prisoners per 100,000 Black males in the United States, compared to 1,177 Latino male inmates per 100,000

Continued on Page 10

Farmers discuss ongoing battle with USDA

BY SUSAN LAMONT

EPES, Alabama—Several hundred people attended the 35th annual meeting of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives/ Land Assistance Fund, held here at the Federation's Rural Training and Research Center August 16–17.

Black farmers and family members from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Kentucky, and elsewhere in the Southeast turned out for the conference. The meeting featured workshops on credit unions, cooperative development, the 2002 federal farm bill, sustainable agriculture and forestry, and other topics.

A discussion on the ongoing battle against the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) over the settlement of a class-action lawsuit in which the agency admitted widespread discrimination against Black farmers received the most interest. Many members of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund (FSC/ LAF) are party to the lawsuit and active in the fight.

The FSC/LAF's conference also drew participation by USDA officials, members of several farm activist organizations, and academics.

Through marches, protest actions, and the class-action lawsuit, Black farmers were able to bring to public light widespread discrimination by the USDA in granting loans and other assistance—actions that helped to hasten Black land loss across the country.

In 1999 the UDSA signed a consent decree settling the lawsuit. Farmers who filed claims of discrimination were told that with minimum documentation—often hard to come by—they could receive $50,000 in tax-free grants from the government, as well as debt relief. This resolution, however, grew more and more entangled.

Since the settlement, some 12,800 Black farmers have been paid a total of $623 million, and around $17.2 million in loans have been forgiven. But as many as 40 percent of the farmers who filed a claim have been rejected. Many are appealing the decision, a complex and time-consuming process at best. In some cases, farmers who appealed have finally received their due. Another 60,000 farmers missed the original deadline. After another round of protest they were allowed to submit claims by September 2000, but few have been added to the list of approved claims.

'Double betrayal'

When the consent decree was first proposed as a way to settle the lawsuit, the attorneys handling the suit argued forcefully in mass meetings held around the country that the farmers should take the deal. Many farmers expressed serious reservations about the outcome, with many of them opposing the consent decree outright.

To add to the outrages committed against these farmers, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., recently issued a decision blasting the attorneys. The judges said the lawyers' incompetent handling of the farmers' claims bordered on malpractice, amounting to a "double betrayal" of the farmers. After receiving more than $14 million in payments from the government, the law firms representing the farmers failed to meet deadlines for filing papers so that individual farmers could get their settlements.

At the FSC/LAF meeting, a representative of the court-appointed monitor who oversees implementation of the consent decree fielded questions from farmers. "If we have to meet all these deadlines for the government," asked Kentucky soybean farmer Arnold Stewart, "why can't we set a few deadlines for the government to meet?"

Stewart is appealing the denial of his claim. Five years of records are "missing" from his local farm loan office, something the government says it is his responsibility to rectify. "In this fight, in this lawsuit, you get stronger and you meet people you need to know," he added.

Several participants noted that some farmers had missed the deadline because of extreme circumstances such as being in the hospital with a stroke and asked why they could not now be included.

The ongoing denial of loans by officials at local offices is one of the issues of most concern to farmers. The consent decree did not hold the government responsible for changing or breaking up the entrenched county Farm Services Agency committees that make decisions on who gets USDA loans on a local level. According to the lawyer from the monitor's office, "farmers who won their claim should get priority consideration on loans," but, he added, "you still have to meet the loan requirements."

Militant/Susan LaMont

Session of August 16–17 Federation of Southern Cooperatives meeting in Epes, Alabama.

'Worse now than before'

"Things are worse now than they were before," said Robert Binion, a farmer from Clanton, Alabama. The county Farm Services Agency committees "have to be held accountable."

Johnny Hughes, a farmer from Eutaw, Alabama, was one of the conference participants who joined a sit-in at the Brownsville, Tennessee, FSA office in early July. "Four or five farmers from that area applied for loans this year and were denied," he said, explaining what led to the sit-in by more than 200 farmers from across the South.

Under the impact of the civil rights movement, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives was formed in 1967. Today, more than 100 cooperatives, credit unions, and community organizations, including some 10,000 small farmers, most of whom are Black, belong to the FSC/LAF.

A major issue for small farmers, especially those who are Black, is simply being able to hold onto their land. In 1920, Black farmers owned 15 million acres of land; today, they own 2 million. By working together through the FSC/LAF, more than 12,000 Black farmers have been able to hold onto 200,000 acres of land that they might otherwise have lost.

Jeanne FitzMaurice and Janine Dukes also contributed to this article.

One-day strike in United Kingdom highlights 'disastrous situation' facing working farmers

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—"We had a very good response to our call for all farmers to withhold goods from sale yesterday," said a statement by Farmers For Action about a 24-hour strike August 23 in the United Kingdom.

The organization said dairy farmers "pulled the plug on not just one day's milk, but two," and others did not sell their animals, produce, or grain. "We achieved all and more of our targets," the Farmers For Action (FFA) said in the press release, "and had plenty of media coverage, especially on local radio, TV and press." The strike was called several weeks ago "to highlight the disastrous situation that is now surrounding British food production."

"Agriculture is one of the most important industries in the world. We have to defend it," said Watkyn Richards, a farmer from Pembrokeshire, west Wales, in a phone interview. "Unions have had to stand up to attacks on the coal and steel industries in this area over the years. The NFU is not prepared to do the same for farming, but Farmers For Action is. Suicide rates in rural areas are rising. It's a result of what is happening to agriculture."

Richards was referring to the fact that the National Farmers Union (NFU), Farmers Union of Wales, National Pig Association, and the National Beef Association not only did not support the strike but came out against the action.

"Farming has reached such a low ebb farmers have to help each other," argued Bob Robertson, a wheat farmer who is the Kent coordinator of FFA. "In France they have shown they are willing to do that, so must we."

Robertson spoke to *Militant* reporters during a recent visit to his 160-acre farm. He described how working farmers have been facing depression conditions for several years. The drop in the market of wheat has "not been as severe recently as it has been for dairy farmers," he said, "but there has still been a decline—from £144 (£1=$1.50) a ton five years ago to £52 a ton today."

Working people have not seen an equivalent drop of prices at the store, as the big grain and food processors use their monopoly position to increase their profit margins, with devastating effects on food producers like Robertson and other working farmers. As a result, many work a second job or find ways to try to make ends meet. Referring to the nearby sound of model airplanes buzzing around, Robertson said he has been "forced to try to use my land for leisure activities."

He also described the efforts of Kent grain farmers to get a better deal with the big grain processors. The farmers have set up cooperatives to try to counteract the competition among farmers by bringing their produce to the market as a block, forcing the big dealers to pay a better price. Robertson pointed out that co-op members also have additional storage costs that counteracted some of the benefits of cooperative membership.

Similar experiences in other parts of the country of dairy and livestock farmers cooperating in order to offset the effects of the capitalist market are floundering as the worldwide economic crisis deepens.

Collapse of dairy co-op

One example is the Dove Valley in Foston. More than 100 farmer-shareholders have been devastated after the Amelca dairy was put into receivership. Dairy producers supplying the Derbyshire milk and cheese factory were promised a premium price for their milk. Amelca said it could afford to pay a premium because all farmers were within 25 miles of the site and collection costs were minimal.

Farmers and their associates supplied about £1 million of equity to found the dairy. They poured in another £3 million of £6.6 million in funding raised two years ago.

"I'm absolutely devastated," said shareholder John Stanley, who farms near Coalville, Leicestershire. "What hope is there for dairy farmers to make a profit if ventures like Amelca fail? I feel as though we've been shafted." He said he is now losing £1,000 a week with the price he now receives from another buyer.

Near Northampton farmers are campaigning against the closure of the local livestock market that has £1 million in debts. They are trying to put together a consortium to buy the market.

Bob Robertson, whose grandfather had been a tenant farmer in Scotland and had moved south to buy land in the 1920s, was interested in the *Militant*'s recent reports on the struggles of farmers in Scotland. Of particular note were the recent mobilizations of farmers at meetings in opposition to the government's proposed restrictions on nitrate use.

"I've been campaigning against the attempts to restrict nitrate use on and off for about seven years now," he said. "I refuse to accept the European Union's proposals, because there is plenty of research that suggests that nitrate is not toxic and the cause of pollution, but a nutrient." Robertson, along with a member of the NFU, had recently addressed the World Health Organization on this question.

Paul Davies is a meat packer in London. Antonis Partasis contributed to this article.

From Pathfinder

New International no. 4

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by Jack Barnes

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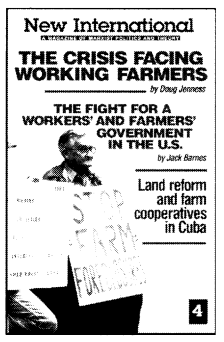

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Expanding communist propaganda and political education of working people

Weekend of volunteer labor advances production and sales of revolutionary books

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—"We're in the middle of the first of two Red Weekends of collective work," said Jack Barnes in opening a meeting of 145 people here Saturday evening, August 24. Barnes, who is the Socialist Workers Party national secretary, chaired the meeting and introduced the panel of speakers to the participants.

In the meeting room, which volunteers had transformed from the production floor of a web press department, boxes of Pathfinder books were neatly stacked and shrink-wrapped on wooden skids, ready to be shipped to their new distribution center in Atlanta. Above the platform hung the enlarged, colorful covers of three new books being released by the publishing house: the Spanish edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*; *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*; and the French edition of *The History of American Trotskyism, 1928-1938: Report of a Participant.*

Coming out of the weekend, said Barnes, an organized, confident, and systematic effort over time by the communist movement will not only double, but increase by five or six times, the yearly sales of Pathfinder books. This increase in sales is not only a political question, he said, but also one with big financial stakes.

The celebration took place in the middle of two days of volunteer labor to transform the Pathfinder Building, where revolutionary books and pamphlets, along with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, are produced. Another "red weekend" was to take place seven days later in Atlanta to set up the distribution center and deploy the books in readiness for sales and shipping.

Floor-by-floor transformation

Many who attended the meeting had put in a full day of hard work clearing out equipment that is no longer needed by Pathfinder's printshop or the editorial departments of the publishing house and the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial.* Tools, supplies, and machines still needed for those operations were gathered together, repairs made to the building, and every floor cleaned from top to bottom.

The volunteers' single biggest accomplishment was their success in sweeping clean and closing up the basement of the building, where for several decades an extensive workshop and shelves of supplies had been located.

Earlier in the day a large crew had cleaned up the entire first floor where the printshop had until recently run a four-unit web press.

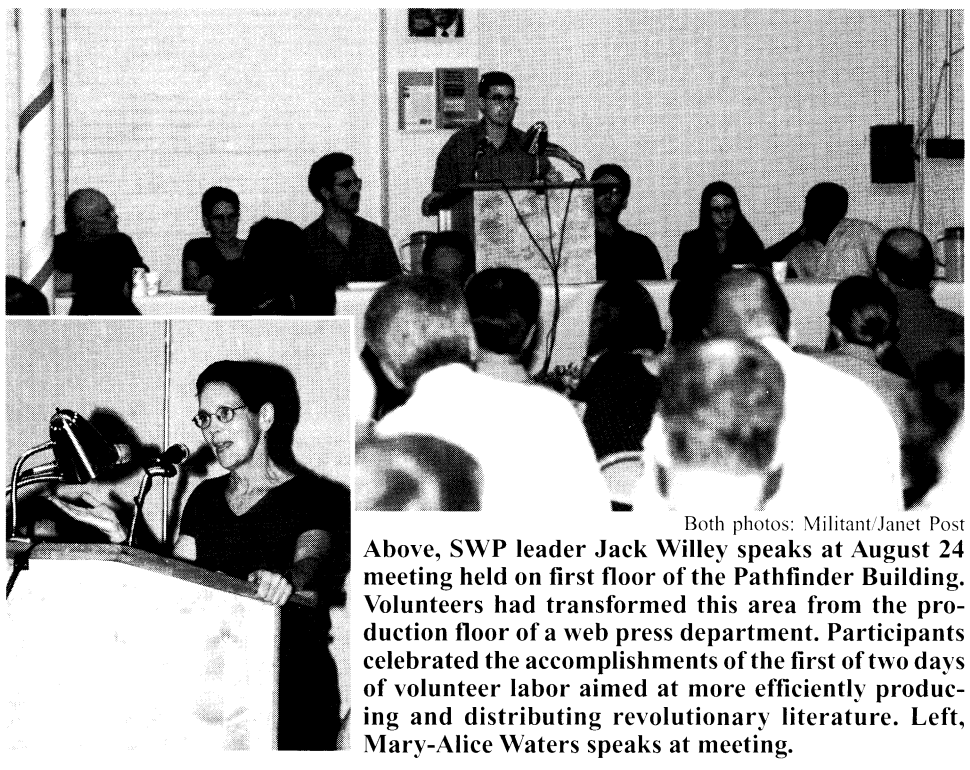
The success of the weekend helped the leadership of the project to recognize a few remaining tasks that needed to be done to bring home the project. On Monday and Tuesday members of the party and Young Socialists in New York and New Jersey mobilized for two additional evenings of work. They were joined by several volunteers from out of town who stayed over to help out.

By the time they were done, the Red Weekend crews had, for the first time, set up the editorial offices of Pathfinder, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* with the small amount of supplies and equipment they need. The equipment and paper used by the printshop was organized in the area the shop now uses.

Such steps forward were the reason the weekend was a "turning point" in a series of volunteer efforts over the past nine months, Barnes noted. The effort had brought closer the day when a branch of the party in New York can host the apparatus of the communist movement, and the party leadership that works in the editorial offices and party national office can more effectively function as leaders of their branches in the city.

The participants in the weekend—socialist workers, young socialists, organized supporters of the communist movement, and young people new to revolutionary politics—came from cities across the United States and Canada.

The transformation of the floors of the building, said Barnes, was "part of finding out through our labor what we need" in the way of any new equipment for the printshop. Only by carrying out the weekly mobilization to fold the *Militant* newspaper, for example and getting better at it each week—a task made necessary by the decommissioning of the web press—can decisions be made about what, and whether, equipment should be purchased to cut down labor time.



Both photos: Militant/Janet Post

Above, SWP leader Jack Willey speaks at August 24 meeting held on first floor of the Pathfinder Building. Volunteers had transformed this area from the production floor of a web press department. Participants celebrated the accomplishments of the first of two days of volunteer labor aimed at more efficiently producing and distributing revolutionary literature. Left, Mary-Alice Waters speaks at meeting.

As the communist movement becomes more and more integrated into the resistance of working people, Pathfinder's books in different languages cease being simply books; rather, Barnes said, they become a means to finding fighters all over the world. They are tools that tie together communists of different languages and experiences and help to open the fight for the political, social, and economic homogenization of the toilers worldwide. Those who fight, no matter where and in what conditions, can share the same understanding of what they have been bequeathed—not to have and to hold, but to use as part of building a working-class leadership.

Communists carry out politics and march along a narrow margin within the political space carved out by working people in struggle, said the SWP leader. Within that space communist workers have yet to find the limits of what they can accomplish by talking socialism on the job, reaching out to struggles, and expanding the circulation of revolutionary literature.

Although there is almost unlimited space for vanguard workers to function along these lines within the unions today, he said, at the same time there is little union democracy; the integration of the unions into the capitalist state continues apace.

Communist workers can help working people who are fighting to appreciate the scope and social importance of what they are doing, and the example they are setting for others.

Communist propaganda work

The party, Barnes emphasized, is reconquering the use of election campaigns as platforms for speaking out boldly and drawing fighters into common activity. More candidates and their supporters are stepping up on soap boxes to be seen speaking for communism, he noted. In so doing, the party is taking another step along the lines of working-class resistance that it was not able to take for a decade or more.

Martín Koppel, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New York, spoke after Barnes's introductory remarks. The election campaign, Koppel said, involves talking socialism on the job and on street corners to workers. "This is a recruitment campaign against imperialism and its war drive and the consequences of capitalist depression, and it goes well beyond the elections in November," he said. "Our campaign tables attract young people, and candidates and supporters work the crowd. All you need is a bullhorn, milk crate—our version of the 'soap box'—and books. Never leave the hall without them."

The New York socialist candidates' activities, he reported, have included a visit to a union picket line at the shipping docks in Brooklyn where members of the International Longshoremen's Association are on strike. Another member of the socialist slate, Paul Pedersen, the candidate for the 12th Congressional District, campaigned in front of the meatpacking plant where he works.

Socialist workers are making plans to go to Washington, D.C., to join supporters of mayoral candidate Sam Manuel in soapboxing, Koppel said.

To the applause of the meeting, Manuel, another panelist, reported that he and his supporters had just brought home a drive to collect more than 6,000 signatures to put the party on the ballot in the city. He noted the warm response to the campaign and the keen interest in his call for a workers and farmers government.

"Winning ballot status is an important victory for the party," he said. "It helps defend the party's legality in face of a hostile capitalist state. It is one of the fronts in the fight for workers' rights, and it enhances our ability to reach out to workers and youth."

Militant Roger Calero

Red Weekend volunteers work on cutting apart cart used to place paper rolls on four-unit web press, shown above, that printshop had run until recently.

Responding to opportunities

What the volunteers were accomplishing during the weekend, said Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters, will help the movement "have the kind of printshop and publishing apparatus we need to respond as a campaign party to opportunities within the resistance of working people and youth. And this is at a time when the politics we are presenting is getting a broader hearing."

The previous day a crew of eight volunteers had packed and shipped out 70 boxes of Pathfinder books to customers across the United States. This was an example, Waters said, of how supporters of the party will be able to organize the distribution center in Atlanta, in contrast to the practice of one or two people on the Pathfinder staff trying to fulfill a mountain of orders.

Waters noted the possibilities of increasing sales of revolutionary titles in a way that "we have not done for years." The interest in the books can been seen among working people in coal mines, textile mills, meatpacking and garment plants, and other industries. The thirst among workers behind bars for revolutionary literature, especially by Black inmates requesting titles on the struggles of African-Americans in the United States, is another sign of this interest, she said. "There is no reason why we cannot double or triple Pathfinder sales," she emphasized.

In response to these ongoing openings, Waters continued, party supporters who have kept Pathfinder books in print through the Pathfinder Reprint Project are now taking on sales of the books and pamphlets to commercial outlets, libraries, and college campuses. Supporters of the communist movement have set a goal of 200 sales visits by October 15, using *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Diez as their lead title. They are also working to make the pathfinderpress.com web site more accessible to those who use it, including readers whose first language is Spanish or French.

Pathfinder will be participating in several major book fairs in Europe over the coming weeks, Waters said. Young Socialists member Seth Dellinger, who was seated on the platform, will be joining international sales teams at the Fete de l'Humanité, an annual political and cultural fair in Paris sponsored by the French Communist Party, and at the book fair in Gothenburg, Sweden, the largest in Scandinavia. Another team is headed to a festival in Madrid.

Pointing to the hanging book cover of *The History of American Trotskyism*, Waters said that the book describes the response of the party to the initial signs of social and political struggles that were beginning to erupt in the early 1930s—a response that prepared the communist movement for the giant class battles of 1934–37. Such initial signs can be seen today, she said.

Of Pathfinder's Spanish-language titles, none has been greeted with more interest in Latin America over the years than *Habla Malcolm X*, noted Waters. Introducing *Malcolm X habla a la Juventud*, whose cover was also suspended above the platform, she said that this title is the product of ongoing collaboration between Pathfinder and Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists in Cuba. Pathfinder is publishing a new, expanded English edition at the same time.

The new book is the fruit of collaboration that had previously produced *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*. After the publication of that title, Pathfinder discussed with young communists in Cuba the prospects for producing other books of similar

Continued on Page 6

Expanding communist propaganda

Continued from Page 5

character. "We discovered that the things we need politically for our work here are the same things they need in Cuba," said Waters. The book is set to be printed before the book fair in Guadalajara, Mexico, scheduled in November. Cuba is the country of honor at the fair this year.

Drawing participants' attention to the third of the three covers, Waters reviewed the work of the past several months in preparing the manuscript, photos, maps, and other material for *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*. Author Tomás Diez worked closely with the book's editors on technical questions, including the compilation of a map showing accurately the placement of Soviet missiles and warheads in Cuba at the time. This is the first map providing such information that has ever been published, she said.

In another important contribution, the book "tells the story of the resistance inside the United States, as thousands poured into the streets," Waters said. "It helps negate the commonly spread myth that people of the United States were a non-factor in the crisis.

"This was a harbinger of what was to come a few years later," she said, with social struggles that included the rise of opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam, expressed through actions such as the 1965 march on Washington.

The response by working people today to Pathfinder titles is a "good reminder about where the books and pamphlets take us and who they take us to—and what they bring hundreds of thousands of revolutionary-minded youth and working people," Waters said. "We use these books as we assemble the forces capable of fighting for the kind of world we *will* bring into being."

More capable of finding opportunities

In 1964, during a debate at Oxford University in Britain, Malcolm X observed that "the young generation of whites, Blacks, browns, whatever else there is—you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. And I for one will join with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth."

Jack Barnes read this quote from *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, making the point that Malcolm X was a great propagandist and simultaneously a great political organizer. Barnes encouraged all those present to read or reread the speeches in the book in order to understand the power of Malcolm and the place in history he carved out through his political ideas and initiatives.

The SWP leader described the collaboration by Malcolm X with socialist youth in conducting and bringing to print a 1965 interview for the *Young Socialist* newspaper, subsequently published in the YS pamphlet *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Pathfinder still sells that pamphlet today; with additions, it also became the book of the same name.

At the time of the *Young Socialist* interview, initial plans were under way for Malcolm to undertake a national speaking tour organized by the Young Socialist Alliance. Malcolm also wanted to put the YSA in touch with revolutionary-minded youth he had met in Africa, and collaborate in other ways to further the work of building a world revolutionary movement. Such a perspective was being posed clearly at the time by advances in the anti-imperialist struggle worldwide. Among other developments, the Cuban Revolution was deepening, and liberation movements were on the rise in Vietnam, the Congo, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and elsewhere around the world. That collaboration was cut short by the assassination of the revolutionary leader in February 1965.

Militant/Róger Calero

Right: the basement was cleared of all debris and beams were reinforced with cement. Inset: volunteers work on cleaning up other room of basement. By end of red weekend entire basement was entirely cleared out. Final wrap-up meeting on Sunday took place down there to celebrate accomplishments.

Today as well, said Barnes, communists work to build a revolutionary movement with other living, fighting forces.

The openings to join working-class resistance and link up with fellow fighters today have existed for a number of years, he said. The communist movement is becoming more capable of being part of them because of the course it set four years ago to subordinate the organizational forms of the party to finding and following the lines of resistance within the working class.

Through the experience the party has gained in the process, it becomes easier for communists today to see how propaganda work, far from becoming less important as revolutionary conditions unfold, becomes more crucial in building a working-class leadership, said Barnes. And the associated work of learning to produce books, pamphlets, and newspapers also becomes more important.

The final panelist, SWP National Committee member Jack Willey, told the meeting that in September a *Militant* reporting team will head to the South Pacific island of Kanaky, a country dominated by French imperialism. The Kanak people have a rich history of struggle against French colonial rule dating from the mid-nineteenth century. The team will be hosted by the Party of Kanak Liberation (PALIKA).

Communists in New Zealand began collaborating with PALIKA activists in the course of building the World Youth Festival that was held in Algiers last year. Young Socialists leaders from New Zealand worked to encourage revolutionary and liberation organizations in the region to participate in the festival as part of building an international anti-imperialist youth movement. PALIKA was one organization that decided to send a delegation.

This kind of collaboration—and similar initiatives in Latin America and Africa—would not have been possible before the collapse of the bureaucratic regime in the former Soviet Union, Willey said. Because of those events and the growing crisis of imperialist domination, the field is wide open today for genuine revolutionists to find each other and begin to put together the elements of a world communist movement, he noted.

Becca Williamson, a young socialist from Los Angeles, who will join socialists from Canada and New Zealand on team to Kanaky, was seated on the platform of the meeting.

"Our last visit to Kanaky was in the late 1980s," Willey said. "In 1988 we had four books in French. Today we have 20. Following the French-language trail is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism."

"We're recruiting to the festival movement and to the World Federation of Democratic Youth," Willey concluded. "There is a need for anti-imperialist forces to band together and fight together in the world today."

Accelerated assault on working people

Nearly a year ago, by responding to the accelerated imperialist war drive and attacks on working people worldwide coming out of September 11, Barnes said, the SWP and Communist Leagues in Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom backed into recognizing they were preparing for an imminent period of threatened financial collapse and looming capitalist depression and imperialist war.

Today, working people around the world are in the middle of a once-in-a-lifetime experience, he said, as depression conditions begin to take hold and the imperialists carry out a series of wars as they try to salvage their system of domination. As the breakdowns spread, millions more will learn that the capitalist crisis is a world phenomenon, and that there is nowhere or way to hide from it.

Neither the working class nor the ruling class can jump over the stages each has to go through before they face off in a decisive showdown, he said. Through guerrilla struggles and larger-scale combat, the working class will mature and become political, gaining revolutionary experience and stripping through every "solution" short of a battle for power. For its part, the billionaire ruling class will exhaust every variant of less violent and extreme forms of defending its class domination. Over the coming years and decades, communists will be part of the resistance of workers and farmers, bringing a clear understanding of the current stage of the class struggle and its place in the line of march toward the contest for political power.

Politics of economics

As worker-bolsheviks study and gain a deeper understanding of the politics of economics, they can follow the shakiness of the massive debt structure, and the continued slip of the U.S. dollar and its domination of world currency.

The most important economic development in South America today is the elections in Brazil, in which Workers Party lead Lula de la Silva is leading the polls in the presidential race. Such an outcome has unnerved the imperialists exploiters. They fear, despite assurances by de la Silva to the contrary, that the new government won't continue the "economic discipline" that has ensured the unending flow of massive debt payments by the Brazilian government to the world's largest banks.

"Economics is totally intertwined with politics," Barnes explained. "Politics is a form of economic change. The simple election of the president of Brazil is more important to the world economy than the Argentine economic crisis or the situation in Mexico. Capitalists and international bankers are deciding whether to threaten to go on strike if the wrong candidate is elected in Brazil."

Barnes said Washington's war drive against Iraq is not about building together a new imperialist coalition. He urged the audience to read *New International* no. 7, featuring the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq." The book explains that the 1990–91 U.S.-led war against Iraq accelerated the rivalry between Washington and other imperialist powers and increased the likelihood of sharpening conflicts among them.

The U.S. rulers "want a couple of allies that will allow them to take the next steps in which they won't have to negotiate the results," he explained. "In the next war the imperialist rulers will fight among themselves over the results."

He pointed to Washington's attempt to reestablish direct domination over the source of oil. "We shouldn't have the idea that the configuration of states in the Middle East is forever: none are stable, established, or guaranteed." A new war in the Arab Persian Gulf will change the relationship between Washington and Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the other Arab countries. Even the existence of Saudi Arabia is no more real than before it was created by the imperialists, who drew some lines on a map to establish boundaries of the country.

What the communist movement is preparing is not to build a movement to oppose a particular war, Barnes said, but years of work to oppose the continuing imperialist wars and war threats. This preparation includes a fall and winter school to study V.I. Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* in coordination with rapid publication and study of two new issues of the Marxist magazine *New International* that will take up these broad world-historic questions.

'Excited and ready to go'

Linda Joyce, a volunteer from Atlanta who participated in the New York red weekend, helped organize the shipping pallets for the truck. "We loaded 1,225 boxes, parts for storage shelves, and assorted materials on skids weighing an estimated total of 36,000 pounds," she said. After arriving in Atlanta she called to inform the *Militant* that "we signed a lease for a warehouse in a light industrial park. So far 50 people are lined up to help set up the distribution center next weekend. We're excited and ready to go."

One of the participants in the red weekend was 20-year-old Jessica Delmar from Los Angeles who recently joined the YS. She said the weekend work and discussion helped her see "why the printshop was so important" and why the changes being made in the apparatus were so central to the discussions at the party's convention this past July. She helped with some of the heavy lifting needed and noted that "nobody discriminated against anyone" in the work. For example, women and men were asked to perform heavy tasks if they were able.

Sonja Swanson, a 16-year-old high school student from Tampa, Florida, was part of the human chain that transferred the books from the second floor onto shipping pallets. "I also helped to disassemble the shelves, mop the floors, and wash the walls," she added. "It was amazing to see the amount of dedication people have to come together to accomplish a task."

The YS member said that when she gets back to Tampa she intends to participate in clubs at her school as a way to talk to more people about politics and win support for the socialist election campaign in the state. I'm leaving here with more motivation, which was very high to begin with. We have 11 or 12 people from Tampa going to Atlanta next week to participate in the red weekend," she said proudly.

From Pathfinder

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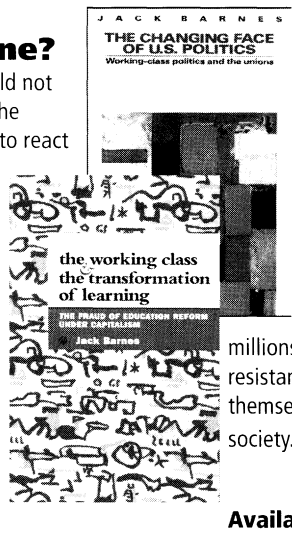

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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14.

Hundreds condemn planned U.S. Navy bombing of Vieques

BY RÓGER CALERO

Launching a campaign against renewed military maneuvers by the U.S. armed forces on Vieques, several hundred people marched in Puerto Rico August 24. Protesters demanded an end to the use of the small island and its surrounding waters by the U.S. government for training naval battle groups, and the immediate removal of all military installations.

The U.S. Navy says it will resume military practices on Vieques September 3. This is the second time this year that Washington's military forces have conducted mock assaults and bombings on the Caribbean island against the wishes of the vast majority of Puerto Rican people.

For decades the U.S. rulers have used their colonial domination of the island to maintain bases, a huge weapons depot, and a live-fire range on Puerto Rican territory. Until recently Washington controlled nearly two-thirds of Vieques. Naval battle groups, including Marines, carried out live-fire invasions as part of coordinating air, land, and sea assaults.

The upcoming intrusion is scheduled to last for 23 days, led by the *USS Harry S. Truman* naval battle group. The nuclear aircraft carrier transports more than 100 warplanes, including dozens of bombers and fighters, as well as surveillance aircraft.

"The mobilization should send the navy a clear message of what's awaiting for them," organizers of the August 24 demonstration told the press, underlining the success of the event.

Named a "Relay for Peace in Vieques," the march was dedicated to those whose lands were taken away by the U.S. Navy in the 1940s, when Washington first set up its military bases in Vieques after World War II.

More than 20 different organizations supported the action. These included members of the electrical workers and teachers unions, who recently won a contract fight, and delegations from the main trade union federations in Puerto Rico. Groups from several political parties and organizations supporting the fight to end Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. colony were present.

The Pro-Independence University Students (FUPI), and several local town officials who support the demand to get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques, joined in. The marchers covered the 20-mile distance in relays, ending the walk at an encampment occupied by activists in front of the U.S. military base at Camp García.

For many of the "expropriated," as those who lost their land are known, "this was the first time they were able to visit the occupied areas since their lands were taken away from them," said Ismael Guadalupe from the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques in a telephone interview.

Guadalupe was referring to some of the land occupied by the U.S. government that has been returned to local residents. This was a concession made by the Clinton administration in January 2000 in response to growing mobilizations in Puerto Rico against the Navy bases. The former president was also hoping to buy some time for the navy to continue to occupy and bombard Vieques.

Hundreds march August 24 in Puerto Rico to protest renewed military practices of U.S. Navy on island of Vieques. In anticipation of larger protests, the Navy is taking measures to limit access to bombing range by demonstrators.

'Return all the land'

The march is "a reminder to the navy that it has to return all the land that it occupies in Vieques, and to show that we will not cease in our struggle until they leave," Guadalupe told the press prior to the action.

Opponents of the U.S. military use of Vieques are holding other actions as the navy prepares its bombing practices.

Guadalupe informed the *Militant* of recent protests organized by members of FUPI, in which the students staged a mock take over of a U.S. military recruitment office in Rio de Piedra, forcing officials to shut it down for the day.

In anticipation of larger protests, the navy is taking measures to limit access to the bombing range by demonstrators seeking to interrupt the military maneuvers.

In August, Navy employees bulldozed a viewing tower that has been used by protesters to monitor the military exercises. Others used the area as a point of entrance to the range, where they camped out with the aim of disrupting the exercises. The navy has also placed floating bridges around the area of the military maneuvers in order to keep Puerto Ricans from using fishing vessels to enter the shooting range from the sea.

As part of a campaign of intimidation against those who oppose the continuing operations by the U.S. Navy, federal agents arrested Regalado Miró and Cacimar Zenón August 21.

The two well-known activists were charged with interfering with military exercises last April. Zenón's father is Carlos Zenón, a leader of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, which has been spearheading many of the protests. He was released last July after spending six months in prison.

Fighters in Vieques have also come under pressure from the U.S. rulers' patriotic pro-war campaign. Guadalupe told the *Militant* that he and others are well aware that Washington will use new wars as a pretext to stay in Vieques. Guadalupe advocates continuing the protests even if Washington goes to war.

"Our demand is 'Peace for Vieques,'" he said. "It would be contradictory to stop when war breaks out. It is when there is war that we must be more active."

N.Y. socialist campaign fights citation by cop

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—The socialist campaign is waging an free speech fight here against city authorities in defense of their right to distribute and sell political literature on the streets of this city.

On July 6, Socialist Workers congressional candidate Margaret Trowe took her campaign to 125th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem. Supporters who accompanied her set up a literature table with political books drawing the lessons of working-class struggles over the past 150 years—ideas that are an integral part of her election campaign. Trowe, who is running in the 14th C.D., is part of a slate of SWP candidates running in New York that includes Martín Koppel for governor. Socialist William Estrada is standing for Congress in the 15th C.D., which includes Harlem.

While she was campaigning a police officer approached Trowe, then issued her a citation for violating city vending regulations by "peddling a book within 20 ft. of Hello Sports store front." He claimed that city law prohibits the sale of any item on public streets within 20 feet of a store, and that within a large section of Manhattan—from 2nd Avenue to 9th Avenue between 30th Street and 65th Street—sales by vendors is banned altogether.

On August 9 Trowe, accompanied by campaign supporters, appeared before Judge Sharon Finklestein at the Environmental Control Board court.

Trowe's attorney, Beth Haroules of the New York Civil Liberties Union, moved for dismissal of the charges, explaining that the summons should be considered null and void because the activity carried out by the Socialist Workers Party is protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech, and therefore does not fall under the city's regulations of vendors. The judge said that she would rule on the case by early September.

"The Socialist Workers campaign is not a vendor," Trowe explained later that day at a Militant Labor Forum in Washington Heights. "We are a political movement actively seeking broad support for a program to defend working people against the ravages that the coming economic depression and imperialist war drive are bringing. We are calling for a workers and farmers government. As part of this we distribute campaign materials and sell periodicals and books in several languages that argue for our position and provide the history of working-class struggles, revolutionary movements, the fight against racism, and for women's rights.

"We appeal to working people and all who support the First Amendment to support this case," Trowe continued. "In doing so you defend the right not only of our party, but of any group of workers, farmers, students, or others to carry out activities to win support for their ideas, including the sales of literature espousing their cause or providing an argument for their ideas, on the sidewalks of New York City. This is activity that has a long and proud history, and any police actions or court decisions to inhibit it strike a blow against the interests of all working people and democratic rights."

Trowe has written a letter on the case to New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg, and is asking others to do the same. Letters should be addressed to Mayor Michael Bloomberg, City Hall, New York, NY 10007. E-mail messages may be sent from the "Contact the Mayor" website at http://nyc.gov/html/mail/html/mayor.html

Militant/Margrethe Siem

Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in New York.

Fired carpenters win union backing in Miami

BY LAWRENCE MIKESH

MIAMI—Seventy people rallied in the pouring rain here August 20 in support of 28 carpenters who were fired by Baker Concrete Construction company. Baker is one of the top three concrete companies in the United States, and is a key contractor constructing a new multimillion dollar American Airlines terminal at Miami International Airport.

The 28 carpenters were being forced to work seven days a week, 12 hours per day, with only 30 minutes for lunch at noon. The firings took place after they began to seek union representation by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The union says Baker Concrete has a long history of discriminating against, interrogating, and discharging employees who want to join the union.

"I'm here because there was an unjust firing of 30 people. We have to speak out," stated Nicky Drury, a 15-year member of the Carpenters union.

"This is a workers' rights issue," said business agent Michael Johnson. "The workers were getting shorted on overtime pay. They only got a half hour break in a 12-hour shift. We're just asking for Baker to comply with the law."

Edwin Garcia, a construction worker and union member, said that with firings such as those at Baker, "You never know who could be next. Whenever something like this happens, it's important to come out and show our support for other workers."

Fifteen garment workers on strike against Point Blank Body Armor in Oakland Park, just north of Miami, extended their solidarity with the carpenters shouting "*Si se puede!*" [Yes we can]. The garment workers have been organizing to force the company to recognize the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. The strike began after the company fired several pro-union workers at the plant.

The Carpenters union has filed complaints of possible fraud with the Office of the Attorney General and with the Department of Business Development of Miami-Dade County against Baker Construction. This filing notes 280 violations of overtime pay regulations alone.

A flyer distributed by the Carpenters union lists other issues, including the company's repeated denial of workers compensation benefits and medical treatment to workers. Baker recently settled a discrimination case filed by a female employee with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

From Pathfinder

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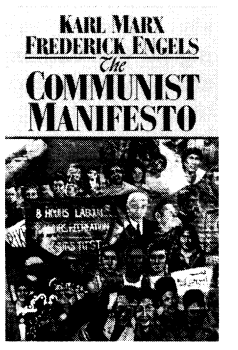

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'See for yourself, think for yourself, c

Pathfinder to release new expanded edition of 'Malcolm X Talks to Young

This fall Pathfinder Press will issue a new expanded edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People,* as well as the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud.*

Printed below is the preface to the new edition by Steve Clark, the book's editor, and two excerpts from talks by Malcolm X that appear in the book. The first is from a speech given in Harlem on Jan. 1, 1965, to a visiting group of high school civil rights fighters from McComb, Mississippi. The second piece is taken from remarks by Malcolm as part of a debate at Oxford University in the United Kingdom on Dec. 3, 1964. Copyright © by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

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BY STEVE CLARK

All over the world, it is young people "who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation," Malcolm X said in January 1965, responding to a question from a young socialist leader in the United States.

Malcolm seized every occasion to address and talk with young people. They "are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country," he emphasized—referring to the United States—"it has been my observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it."

Four talks from the last year of Malcolm X's life, and a January 1965 interview for the *Young Socialist* magazine, are presented in this expanded 2002 edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, which also features an enlarged display of photographs. It is being released together with the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud*, which will be produced simultaneously by Pathfinder and by Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists in Cuba.

Well before Malcolm X gave these talks in 1964–65, he had already become a revolutionary advocate of Black liberation and an intransigent opponent of American imperialism and its government. Seeking a way to carry out "militant action, uncompromising action" to advance that political perspective, as Malcolm explains in a January 1965 speech in this book, he broke with the Nation of Islam in March 1964 and helped launch the Muslim Mosque, Inc. He and his collaborators, however, soon recognized that "there was a problem confronting our people in this country that had nothing to do with religion and went above and beyond religion"—a problem that because of its magnitude "a religious organization couldn't attack." So in June they formed "another group that had nothing to do with religion whatsoever"—the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), open to all Blacks committed to Malcolm's social and political goals. During the final months of 1964 and early 1965, Malcolm X spoke out more and more directly about the need for revolution—in the United States and worldwide—and about the capitalist roots of racism, of exploitation, and of imperialist oppression.

The speeches and interview in this collection reflect the political evolution of Malcolm X, a process still under way when he was assassinated in February 1965. They also reflect the extraordinarily wide hearing he was winning on several continents among young people and others of various races and religions. During the year before his death, he made two extensive trips to Africa and the Middle East and several short trips to Europe, and had scheduled more. One of the five talks in this collection was given in Africa and two in the United Kingdom.

Top: youth stand their ground before Alabama cop during Battle of Birmingham, May 1963. The battle was one of the key events in the struggle to end Jim Crow segregation in the South. Bottom: Civil rights groups hold picket of FBI office in New York, June 1965, to commemorate the first anniversary of the murder in Mississippi of civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman.

During that year the influence of Malcolm X's ideas also spread in the United States among young fighters against racism, imperialist war, and other social injustices. One of the discussions recorded here is his meeting with high school–age civil rights militants from McComb, Mississippi, whom he met with on New Year's Day 1965 in Harlem. Later that month he also agreed to the request by the leadership of the Young Socialist Alliance to give the interview included here.

Much of the material in these pages had never before been in print prior to the first book-length edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* in 1991. That is the case with the speeches at Oxford University and the London School of Economics, only a few paragraphs of which had previously been published. The entire speech to the McComb youth and the question-and-answer period appeared here for the first time. Excerpts from that talk were published in 1965 as a Young Socialist pamphlet entitled *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. That pioneering pamphlet, which has been kept in print to this day by Pathfinder, contains two other items also appearing in this book: the January 1965 *Young Socialist* interview with Malcolm X, as well as the tribute to the revolutionary leader by Jack Barnes presented shortly after Malcolm's assassination at a March 1965 memorial meeting hosted by the Militant Labor Forum at its hall in Lower Manhattan. Just a couple of months earlier Barnes, who was then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, had interviewed and talked with Malcolm on two occasions. An article by Barnes describing those meetings, published in the *Militant* newspaper on the one-year anniversary of Malcolm's death, is included in this expanded edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* for the first time. Barnes is today national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

The May 1964 speech by Malcolm X at the University of Ghana first appeared in the book *Where To, Black Man? An American Negro's African Diary* by Ed Smith (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967), but has long been out of print. Smith provided additional information about the Ghana trip, as did Alice Windom, who helped schedule Malcolm's activities during his week-long visit there. Among the highlights were his meetings with the country's parliament and Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah, as well as a farewell dinner in Malcolm's honor hosted by the Cuban embassy. Pathfinder would also like to thank Alice Windom for supplying photographs from the Ghana trip.

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"One of the first things I think young people...should learn how to do is see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself," Malcolm told the McComb students at the opening of 1965. "Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself."

This book shows how hard Malcolm X worked to do just that—to help young people step outside the bourgeois influences that surround them and come to decisions for themselves. What's more, it demonstrates how important an element working with young people was in Malcolm's own decision to commit his life to building an internationalist revolutionary movement in the United States that could join in the fight worldwide to wipe racism, exploitation, and oppression off the face of the earth.

August 2002

Watch coming issues for more Malcolm X

Further excerpts from Pathfinder's new edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* will appear in future issues of the *Militant* this fall.

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In Harlem, January 1965

The following is an excerpt from a talk given at the headquarters of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in the Hotel Theresa in Harlem to thirty-seven high school–age youth from McComb, Mississippi, who had been involved in civil rights battles there. They had come to New York City on an eight-day trip sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). McComb was where SNCC had begun its voter registration project and organized Mississippi's first sit-in to desegregate public facilities in 1961. During the 1964 voter registration effort racists had bombed or set afire more than fifteen churches, homes, and businesses in McComb.

One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn how to do is see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. But if you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of going and searching that thing out for yourself and seeing for yourself, you'll be walking west when you think you're going east, and you'll be walking east when you think you're going west. So this generation, especially of our people, have a burden upon themselves, more so than at any other time in history. The most important thing we can learn how to do today is think for ourselves.

It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and then come to a decision for yourself. You'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your own friends and loving your enemies. This is one of the things that our people are beginning to learn today—that it is very important to think out a situation for yourself. If you don't do it, then you'll always be maneuvered into actually—You'll never fight your enemies, but you will find yourself fighting your own self.

I think our people in this country are the best examples of that. Because many of us want to be nonviolent. We talk very loudly, you know, about being nonviolent. Here in Harlem, where there are probably more Black people concentrated than any place else in the world, some talk that nonviolent talk too. And when they stop talking about how nonviolent they are, we find that they aren't nonviolent with each other. At Harlem Hospital, you can go out here on Friday night, which—today is what, Friday? yes—you can go out here to Harlem Hospital, where there are more Black patients in one hospital than any hospital in the world—because there's a concentration of our people here—and find Black people who claim they're nonviolent. But you see them going in there all cut up and shot up and busted up where they got violent with each other.

So my experience has been that in many instances where you find Negroes always talking about being nonviolent, they're not nonviolent with each other, and they're not loving with each other, or patient with each other, or forgiving with each other. Usually, when they say they're nonviolent, they mean they're nonviolent with somebody else. I think you understand what I mean. They are nonviolent with the enemy. A person can come to your home, and if he's white and he wants to heap some kind of brutality upon you, you're nonviolent. Or he can come put a rope around your neck,

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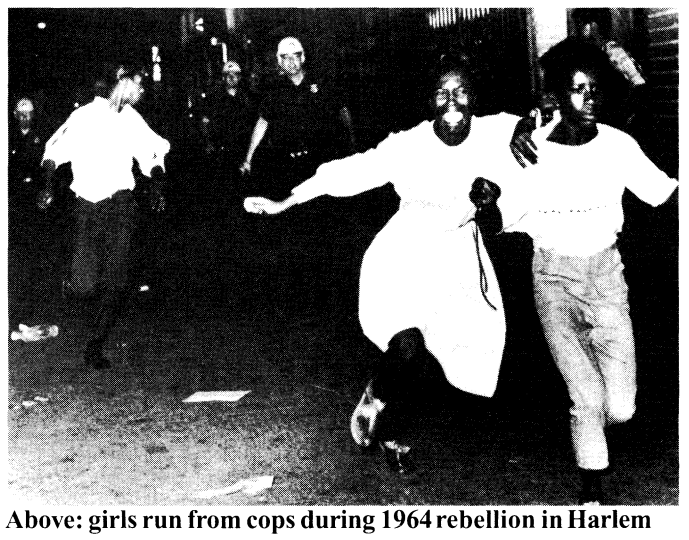
eople' this fall

he can come put a rope around your neck, you're nonviolent. Or he can come to take your father out and put a rope around his neck, you're nonviolent. But now if another Negro just stomps his foot, you'll rumble with him in a minute. Which shows you there's an inconsistency there.

So I myself would go for nonviolence if it was consistent, if it was intelligent, if everybody was going to be nonviolent, and if we were going to be nonviolent all the time. I'd say, okay, let's get with it, we'll all be nonviolent. But I don't go along—and I'm just telling you how I think—I don't go along with any kind of nonviolence unless everybody's going to be nonviolent. If they make the Ku Klux Klan nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent. If they make the White Citizens' Council nonviolent, I'll be nonviolent.[1] But as long as you've got somebody else not being nonviolent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any kind of nonviolent talk. I don't think it is fair to tell our people to be nonviolent unless someone is out there making the Klan and the Citizens' Council and these other groups also be nonviolent.

Now I'm not criticizing those here who are nonviolent. I think everybody should



Above: girls run from cops during 1964 rebellion in Harlem

do it the way they feel is best, and I congratulate anybody who can be nonviolent in the face of all that kind of action that I read about in that part of the world. But I don't think that in 1965 you will find the upcoming generation of our people, especially those who have been doing some thinking, who will go along with any form of nonviolence unless nonviolence is going to be practiced all the way around.

If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the Black community, then we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if just Black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless.

Now to try and give you a better understanding of our own position, I guess you have to know something about the Black Muslim movement, which is supposed to be a religious movement in this country, which was extremely militant, vocally militant, or militantly vocal. The Black Muslim movement was supposed to be a religious group. And because it was supposed to be a religious group, it never involved itself in civic matters, so it claimed. And by not getting involved in civic matters, what it did, being militant, it attracted the most militant Negroes, or Afro-Americans, in this country, which it actually did. The Black Muslim movement attracted the most dissatisfied, impatient, and militant Black people in this country.

But when it attracted them, the movement itself, by never involving itself in the real struggle that's confronting Black people in this country, in a sense has gotten maneuvered into a sort of a political and civic vacuum. It was militant, it was vocal, but it never got into the battle itself.

And though it professed to be a religious group, the people from the part of the world whose religion it had adopted didn't recognize them or accept them as a religious group. So it was also in a religious vacuum. It was in a vacuum religiously, by claiming to be a religious group and by having adopted a religion which actually rejected them or wouldn't accept them. So religiously it was in a vacuum. The federal government tried to classify it as a political group, in order to maneuver it into a position where they could label it as seditious, so that they could crush it because they were afraid of its uncompromising, militant characteristics. So for that reason, though it was labeled a political group and never took part in politics, it was in a political vacuum. So the group, the Black Muslim movement itself, actually developed into a sort of a hybrid, a religious hybrid, a political hybrid, a hybrid-type organization.

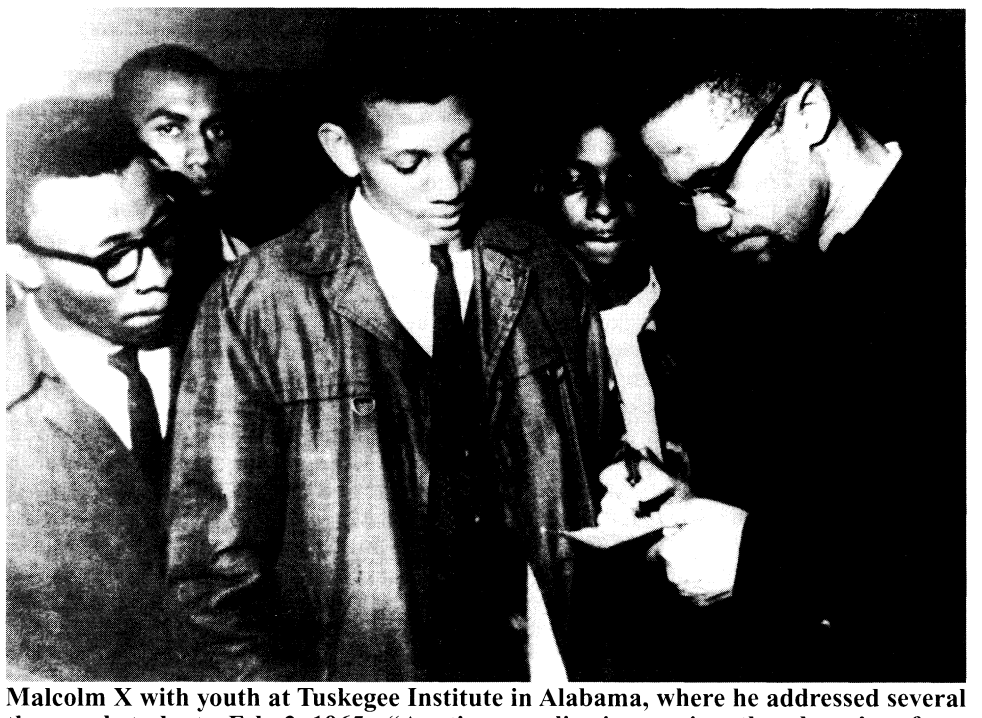
Getting all of these very militant Black people into it, and then not having a program that would enable them to take an active part in the struggle, it created a lot of dissatisfaction among its members. It polarized into two different factions—one faction that was militantly vocal, and another faction that wanted some action, militant action, uncompromising action. Finally the dissatisfaction developed into a division, the division developed into a split, and many of its members left. Those who left formed what was known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which is authentically a religious organization that is affiliated with and recognized by all of the official religious heads in the Muslim world. This was called the Muslim Mosque, Inc., whose offices are here.

But this group, being Afro-American or being Black American, realized that although we were practicing the religion of Islam, still there was a problem confronting our people in this country that had nothing to do with religion and went above and beyond religion. A religious organization couldn't attack that problem according to the magnitude of the problem, the complexity of the problem itself. So those in that group, after analyzing the problem, saw the need, or the necessity, of forming another group that had nothing to do with religion whatsoever. And that group is what's named and is today known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity is a nonreligious group of Black people in this country who believe that the problems confronting our people in this country need to be reanalyzed and a new approach devised toward trying to get a solution. Studying the problem, we recall that prior to 1939 in this country, all of our people—in the North, South, East, and West, no matter how much education we had—were segregated. We were segregated in the North just as much as we were segregated in the South. And even right now, today, there's as much segregation in the North as there is in the South. There's some worse segregation right here in New York City than there is in McComb, Mississippi; but up here they're subtle and tricky and deceitful, and they make you think that you've got it made when you haven't even begun to make it yet.

In the United Kingdom, December 1964

Below are the concluding remarks from a talk given during a program sponsored by the Oxford Union, a student debating society at Oxford University in the United Kingdom. The debate was televised to an audience of millions by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The proposition under debate was "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue," a statement made by Barry Goldwater in his 1964 speech accepting the Republican Party nomination for president of the United States. Malcolm X was the fifth of six speakers, and the second of three who defended the above proposition. The other two speaking for it were Eric Abrahams, a student from Jamaica and president of the Oxford Union, and Hugh McDiarmid, a Scottish poet and member of the Communist Party. The audience, which included many students originally from Africa and Asia, greeted Malcolm's remarks with enthusiastic applause.



Malcolm X with youth at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, where he addressed several thousand students, Feb. 3, 1965. "Anytime you live in a society that doesn't enforce its own law because the color of a man's skin happens to be wrong," said the revolutionary leader in December 1964, "then I say those people are justified to resort to any means necessary to bring about justice."

Any time you live in a society supposedly based upon law, and it doesn't enforce its own law because the color of a man's skin happens to be wrong, then I say those people are justified to resort to any means necessary to bring about justice where the government can't give them justice. *[Prolonged applause]*

I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism. But I believe that when a man is exercising extremism, a human being is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings, it's no vice. And when one is moderate in the pursuit of justice for human beings, I say he's a sinner.

And I might add, in my conclusion—In fact, America is one of the best examples, when you read its history, about extremism. Old Patrick Henry said, "Liberty or death!" That's extreme, very extreme. *[Laughter and applause]*

I read once, passingly, about a man named Shakespeare. I only read about him passingly, but I remember one thing he wrote that kind of moved me. He put it in the mouth of Hamlet, I think it was, who said, "To be or not to be"—he was in doubt about something. *[Laughter]* "Whether it was nobler in the mind of man to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune"—moderation—"or to take up arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them."

And I go for that. If you take up arms, you'll end it. But if you sit around and wait for the one who's in power to make up his mind that he should end it, you'll be waiting a long time.

And in my opinion the young generation of whites, Blacks, browns, whatever else there is—you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. And I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth. Thank you *[Applause]*

[1] White Citizens' Councils were racist organizations formed in the South in the mid-1950s to carry out night riding attacks and other terrorist activity against Blacks in response to growing demands to desegregate schools and other public facilities.

New, expanded edition

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

"All over the world, it is young people who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. They are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the conditions that exist." *—Malcolm X, January 1965*

This new expanded edition includes, four talks given to young people in Ghana, the United Kingdom, and the United States, in 1964 and '65, an interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine, and an enlarged display of photographs. In the last year of his life Malcolm X spoke out more and more directly about the need for revolution—in the United States and worldwide—and about the capitalist roots of racism, exploitation, and imperialist oppression. The collection concludes with a memorial tribute by a young socialist leader to this great revolutionary, whose example and words continue to speak the truth for generation after generation of youth. This new English-language edition is being released together with the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud.*

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14; write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690; or visit www.pathfinderpress.com.

Foreign banks say no deal with Argentina

Continued from front page
slashing the pensions and wages of state employees, raising taxes, imposing a partial freeze on bank withdrawals, and sending in the riot police when workers protested. The president was swept from office following massive protests by workers and peasants, who blocked roads and organized street mobilizations against rising unemployment and the deepening attacks on their living standards.

Since then the U.S. ruling class and the IMF have refused to grant Argentina a single penny in new loans. Instead, they have used the crisis to press demands for widespread cuts in state and provincial budgets, as well as for the removal of laws that in any way cut across the interests of the imperialist corporations.

In an attempt to garner some popular support, the new Argentine president, Eduardo Duhalde, announced measures to force foreign banks and investors to shoulder some of the losses from the currency devaluation and debt default.

His government "transformed dollar assets and liabilities of the banking system into devalued pesos at different rates—making many banks insolvent at a stroke," complained the *Financial Times*. "It also enacted a new bankruptcy law that made it hard for banks to collect on bad debts."

Over the past several months, the IMF convinced the Argentine government to scrap the bankruptcy bill, but a number of its provisions have been reintroduced in Congress. Among the measures up for consideration is the reinstatement of a 2 percent tax on interest payments or bank commissions for a bankrupt union-run health scheme scrapped several years ago; a retroactive 10 percent tax on anyone who withdrew more than $100,000 from the banking system last year; and a measure to make the foreign owners of Argentine banks liable for new deposits. Congress has already approved a 90-day extension of a ban on mortgage foreclosures or the repossessions of cars and business-related items.

"This is pure populism," an unnamed senior bank official told a *Times* reporter. "We're back to the bad old days of January."

Meanwhile, some individual foreign investors, primarily from Europe, who hold some $26 billion in bonds and loans on which the Argentine government has defaulted, have begun filing suits. The legal actions seek the seizure of Argentine bank accounts in Switzerland or even assets in Argentina in lieu of payment. Last month an Italian court ruled in favor of one such group of bondholders, ordering the freezing of $2.3 million of Argentine assets in Italy.

Oil workers block a road in Santa Cruz, in the southern part of Argentina, to demand jobs from a Spanish-owned company.

Protests demand jobs, benefit payments

Pickets blocked roads leading into Buenos Aires, the capital city, and a section of the Pan American highway August 26 to demand jobs and payment of the unemployment funds owed to them. More than 100,000 workers around the country have not received these benefit payments. Néstor Pitrola, a leader of the Workers Party, one of the organizations sponsoring the action, said that the pickets also demanded the doubling of the unemployment subsidy, which stands at only 150 pesos a week (1 Argentine peso = US 28 cents).

The protest also commemorated the two-month anniversary of the police killing of two young workers. The two were involved in a similar protest blocking a bridge connecting Buenos Aires with the southern industrial suburb of Avellenada.

Today, as a depression takes hold, more than 40 percent of the working-age population is unemployed or underemployed, while the government admits that more than half the population of 36 million lives below the official poverty line.

Under pressure from ongoing protests against attacks on the social wage, the Argentine Supreme Court ruled August 22 that the 13 percent cut in state wages and pensions ordered by former Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo was unconstitutional and must be paid back to the workers. While 540,000 pensioners saw their payments cut, only 90,000 are covered by the Supreme Court's ruling.

Meanwhile, some previously secret documents were released by the U.S. government August 19 after a several-year fight. The papers shed some further light on Washington's support for the Argentine military junta in the 1970s. The 4,677 pages of documents released by the State Department dating from 1975 to 1984 show that after a top meeting with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in 1976, Argentine officials came away with the clear message that the junta's tactics in suppressing opposition would meet no objections from Washington. More than 9,000 people were killed by the regime over the course of its seven-year war against youth and working-class fighters.

In one October 1976 cable, U.S. ambassador Robert Hill told his superiors that the Argentine foreign minister, Adm. Carlos Guzzetti, had expected officials of the Ford administration to at least deliver some verbal warnings about Argentina's dirty war against working people. Instead, Hill reported, Guzetti returned "in a state of jubilation, convinced that there is no real problem with the USG [U.S. government] over the issue." He was right.

Who are the Cuban revolutionaries framed and jailed by Washington?

Antonio Guerrero

Five Cuban revolutionaries are currently serving prison terms of between 15 years and a double life sentence after being framed up and convicted in June 2001 in a U.S. federal court. They are René González, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Fernando González.

The five revolutionaries were in the United States on an internationalist mission to defend the sovereignty of their country and the Cuban Revolution. They gathered information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups in Florida—organizations with a history of launching violent attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil. The groups have been able to operate with impunity from Florida, often with the assistance of, training by, and funding from the U.S. government.

Unable to prove any illegal acts by the five men, the federal government pushed through convictions on a series of conspiracy charges, including conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign power, to commit espionage, and to commit murder.

An international campaign is being waged by various organizations to explain the truth about the cases of the five Cubans and to demand they be released from prison. Extensive information on this fight can be found at themilitant.com.

The *Militant* is running short biographical sketches of each of the five. The biographies of Gerardo Hernández, René González, and Fernando González appeared in the August 19, August 26, and September 2 issues respectively. Following is the biography of Antonio Guerrero.

❖

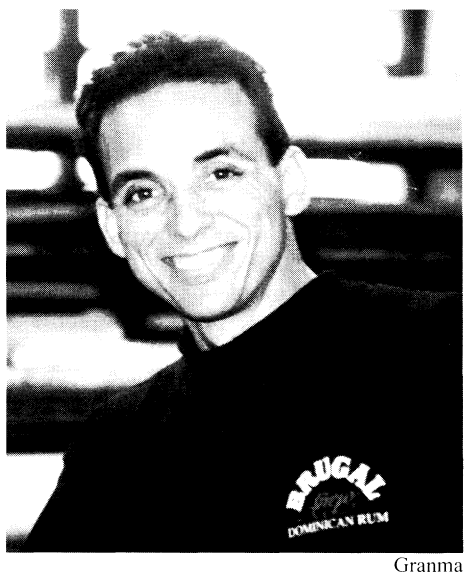
"Documents and data given by the Cuban government as well as declassified secret documents of the U.S. government have shown a pattern of aggression," said Antonio Guerrero in his closing statement to a U.S. court on December 27. "This aggression," he continued, "has included the recruitment and the financing by the CIA of counterrevolutionary agents" from the 1961 Bay of Pigs attack to "bomb attacks on hotels, social centers, as well as historic and tourist centers.

"It has been a complex and difficult task to halt these terrorist acts because they have been in alliance with U.S. authorities."

Guerrero was born on Oct. 18, 1958, into a working-class family in the city of Miami. His family returned to Cuba in the first days of January 1959, after the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista by the Cuban toilers under the leadership of the July 26 Movement.

The young Guerrero played an active political part at each stage of his student and working life. In 1973 he became the president of the Federation of High School Students for the Boyeros region in Havana province. The next year he joined the Union of Young Communists, becoming the organization secretary of his unit.

After graduating from high school Guerrero earned a scholarship to study to be an engineer in airport construction in Kiev, in the former Soviet Union. He qualified in 1983, and put his skills to immediate use—most notably in the project, now completed, to expand the runway at the Antonio Maceo International Airport in Santiago de Cuba.



Granma

Antonio Guerrero

In 1989 Guerrero was accepted into membership of the Cuban Communist Party. After living for some years in Panama, Guerrero lived and worked in the United States.

Guerrero's mother, wife, and other family members have visited him in the maximum security Florence prison in Colorado where he is serving a sentence of life plus 10 years. Guerrero "shares his cell with another Cuban, there are around 40 of them," said his mother after her visit. "They have respect and look after him."

Guerrero has written a number of poems behind bars, and has published one book of poetry in Spanish and English translation.

Like the other four who have been framed up and incarcerated, Guerrero defends his activities with pride. "If I were asked once again to cooperate in this task, I would again do it with honor," he told the court last December. "For me and my dear brothers your sentence means unjust imprisonment. We will not rest defending the just and moral cause we have embraced."

U.S. 'most aggressive jailer'

Continued from Page 3
Latino males, and 462 white male inmates per 100,000 white males. Based on these figures, Blacks are three times as likely to be in prison as Latinos and nearly eight times more likely than whites.

Over the past decade, however, the number of Latino prisoners increased at the fastest annual rate, followed by whites, and then Blacks.

The U.S. Census Bureau figure for prisoners put to death from the years 1930 to 1999 is 4,458, excluding capital punishment by military authorities. Of those executions, 2,201 were of Black inmates, accounting for nearly half of all state-sanctioned murders—although African Americans comprise some 12 percent of the U.S. population.

These executions of Blacks and other working people don't include those carried out by cops on the streets. Although government officials keep no accurate records on individuals killed by police, a survey based on a search of U.S. newspapers from 1997 turned up accounts of some 2,000 deaths at the hands of cops and prison guards between 1990 and early 1998—just the tip of the iceberg.

On August 26 lawyers for Eddie Joe Lloyd will present DNA evidence to a judge in Detroit exonerating Lloyd in the 1984 rape and killing of a young woman. If agreed to by the court he will be the 110th person released based on DNA evidence. Lloyd, who was in a mental hospital at the time, maintained he was tricked into signing a confession by the cops who said it would be used to help smoke out the real killer. The judge lamented at the time that Lloyd could not be put to death.

The case occurs as federal investigators are conducting an inquiry into the Detroit police department's systematic violation of civil rights laws. The inquiry includes excessive use of force, death of prisoners in jail, and widespread detention of witnesses.

'We're fighting imperialism'

Continued from front page

licans in defending the interests of the ruling rich," she said.

"We discussed imperialist war, the Cuban Revolution, and future plans for the socialist campaign. Many more co-workers have offered to support the campaign," the gubernatorial candidate reported. After talking to one young worker about the campaign, he asked Rottach if she had any books by Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara. After their discussion, he decided to buy the Pathfinder book, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*.

In Washington, D.C., Sam Manuel, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., held a press conference August 27. Manuel announced he filed 6,002 signatures—double the requirement—to place his name on the November 5 ballot.

"My campaign is the only voice for workers and young people who are standing up to the brutal effects of the deepening global crisis of the capitalist system," Manuel told the press.

"The long-term capitalist economic decline and growing signs of a coming depression mean more attacks will be inflicted on working people," Manuel continued. "Along with launching wars abroad, such as that now being prepared against the people of Iraq, this is the only response the superwealthy rulers have to the crisis of their system," he said.

"My campaign presents a program around which working people in this city and around the world can unite, and through the fights we conduct today, begin to construct a revolutionary party that can lead working people to power and replace the rule of the wealthy with a government of workers and farmers," Manuel concluded.

Standing up to imperialist war drive

Rottach and Manuel are joined by campaigns of Socialist Workers candidates across the country. They are speaking out against imperialism and its war drive and to defend the interests of workers and farmers who are bearing the brunt of the unfolding economic crisis. Campaigners are joining picket-lines and union marches, and getting out to working-class neighborhoods, factory plant-gates, and college campuses.

Olympia Newton, the socialist candidate for California secretary of state, joined other supporters of farm workers' struggles on a bus organized by the United Farm Workers (UFW) from Los Angeles to a march and rally in Sacramento. Young Socialists for Bailey, Kalman, and Newton, and other campaigners met a number of students and workers interested in the campaign and handed out hundreds of flyers with more information.

Some demonstrators had met the campaign before. A high school student, Elizabeth, had met the campaign a week earlier when the 150-mile farm workers' march passed through Modesto and picked up a copy of the paper. In Sacramento, she bought another copy and a book on the Cuban Revolution.

Isais, who used to be a farm worker, also first met the campaign at the Modesto rally where he bought a copy of *The Communist Manifesto* in Spanish and a copy of the *Militant.* In Sacramento he bought another *Militant* and *La Última Lucha de Lenin.*

The Socialist Workers campaign found a keen interest in revolutionary literature among the demonstrators. By the end of the day they sold eight subscriptions to the *Militant*, five subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial,* and 82 copies of the socialists press. Protesters bought a wide range of books totaling more than $425.

In Chicago, Illinois, Joel Britton, the socialist gubernatorial candidate in Illinois, and his running mate, Chessie Molano, marched with thousands of hotel workers in Chicago August 23. The workers are fighting for higher wages and benefits. Walking with signs supporting the struggle, the candidates and their supporters handed out campaign flyers and met a number of people who wanted to discuss Washington's war preparations against Iraq and the assaults against working people at home.

Houston campaign

Socialist campaigners in Houston stopped by the docks, longshore workers hall, and the picket-line of locked-out workers at Sterling Chemical in the first week of their campaign.

On August 23, 20 truck drivers at the Port of Houston bought the *Militant* and talked to Stephanie Taylor, with the Young Socialists for Warshell, Henderson, and Dutrow. Taylor was campaigning with Texas gubernatorial candidate Steve Warshell and Senate candidate Jacquie Henderson.

Three days later, campaigners went to the International Longshoremen's Association hall. One dockworker who told the candidate, "you've got my vote," brought co-workers out of the hall to meet Henderson and campaign supporter Tom Leonard and to look over a display of books by revolutionary leaders.

Campaign supporters for Edwin Fruit, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 3rd District in Iowa, were met with a lively response at the Des Moines farmers market on August 24. A high school student whose family is Egyptian stopped to get a campaign flyer and commented that his father had some of the Pathfinder books displayed on the table. "It's impossible to get the truth about the Palestinian struggle from watching television," he told Fruit.

The campaign table, which in-

Continued on Page 12

Militant/Deborah Liatos

Olympia Newton, candidate for secretary of state of California, campaigns at farm workers' rally.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive Goals September 7-November 17

Country	Militant Goal	PM Goal
Australia	**28**	**6**
Canada		
Montreal	15	10
Toronto	30	5
Vancouver	30	5
Canada total	**75**	**20**
Iceland	**9**	**1**
New Zealand		
Auckland	20	1
Christchurch	12	1
N.Z. total	**32**	**2**
Sweden		
Gothenburg	15	3
Stockholm	12	3
Sweden Total	**27**	**6**
United Kingdom		
Dundee	10	
London	45	15
UK total	**55**	**15**
United States		
Atlanta	35	15
Birmingham	22	10
Boston	28	20
Brooklyn	50	25
Charlotte	20	8
Chicago	45	30
Cleveland	28	7
Des Moines	25	12
Detroit	43	12
Houston	35	15
Los Angeles	45	30
Miami	30	10
NE Pennsylvania	30	7
Newark	55	35
NY Garment Dist.	65	35
Omaha	15	23
Philadelphia	25	10
Pittsburgh	40	4
San Francisco	30	15
Seattle	40	12
Tampa	25	8
Twin Cities	55	30
Upper Manhattan	50	35
Washington	30	12
Western Colorado	20	10
U.S. total	**886**	**430**
Int'l totals	**1112**	**480**
Goal/Should be	**1050**	**500**
IN THE UNIONS		
	Militant Goal	**PM Goal**
New Zealand		
NDU	2	
MWU	3	
Total	**5**	
United States		
UMWA	25	4
UNITE	50	40
UFCW	50	65
Total	**125**	**109**

— MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Oppose Secret Trials and Detentions. Speaker: Naomi Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 30, 7:30 p.m. *168 Bloomfield., 2nd Floor. Donation: $4. Tel:(973) 481-0077.*

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

A Working-Class Answer to the Housing Crisis. Speaker: Arrin Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor. Fri., Aug. 30, 7:30 p.m. *372A 53rd St. (at 4th Ave.) Donation: $5. Tel: (718) 567-8014.*

Garment District

The Imperialist Plunder of the African Continent and the Fight for Land and Freedom in Today's Africa. Speaker: Doug Nelson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 30, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m.

October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba. Speaker: Steve Clark, Socialist Workers Party and co-editor of the new Pathfinder book of the same name. Fri., Sept. 13, 7:30 p.m. *Both events at 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: $5 dinner, $4 program. Tel: (212) 695-7358.*

Upper Manhattan

The 57th Anniversary of the World's First Nuclear Attack: the Meaning of Washington's Decision to Incinerate the Population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Speaker: Dave Prince, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 30, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. *599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: $5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.*

OHIO

Cleveland

Capitalism's World Disorder: A Socialist Perspective. Speaker: Eva Braiman, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Ohio. Fri., Sept. 6, 7:30 p.m. *11018 Lorain Ave. Tel: (216) 688-1190.* Ohio

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Crisis in Latin America: Eyewitness Report. Speakers: Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New York, and Romina Green, Young Socialists, participants in Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists team to Paraguay and Argentina. Sat., Sept. 7. 30, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:00 p.m. *5237 N. 5th Street. Donation: $5 dinner, $5 program. Tel: (215) 324-7020.*

CANADA

Toronto

Vancouver

The Mine Flood in Pennsylvania: Labor's Fight for Safety. Speaker: Dick Boyd, former coal miner. Sat., Sept. 7, 4:00 p.m. *2645 East Hastings, 2nd Floor. Tel: (604) 872-8343.*

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Building the World Communist Movement Today: the Class Struggle in Canada and the United States. Speaker: Christian Counoyer, a leader of the Communist League in Canada; Rebecca Webster, a leader of the Young Socialists in the United States. Mon. Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m. *7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu. Donation: $3. Tel: (09) 276-8885.*

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

No to Racism and Imperialist War: U.S. Navy Out of Vieques and All of Puerto Rico. Tues., Sept. 3, 4:30 p.m. *Times Square (43rd and Broadway;) Manhattan.*

Boeing bosses seek concessions

Continued from front page

ing to a walkout on the contract's expiration date, September 2.

This year alone Boeing has laid off 30,000 workers. The bosses are using a drop-off in aircraft orders from commercial airlines as the cover for its attack on the union, saying "economic reality" should be the basis of its contract with the IAM. "We are in the midst of the worst downturn in commercial-aviation history," company spokesperson Charles Cadena told the press.

Boeing is also a major military contractor, supplying the Pentagon and other countries with warplanes, helicopters, missiles, antimissile systems, satellites, and other equipment.

Many IAM members say the company wants a strike to try to weaken the union at a time when the crisis in the airline industry has significantly cut orders for new aircraft production. The company rejected the union's offer to extend the present contract and continue negotiations and has told all its workers to be prepared for possible furloughs if there is a Machinists strike.

"Strike may not cause Boeing immediate harm; analysts cite airline woes, low demand," read a headline in the August 27 *Seattle Times*. The article quoted Richard Turgeon, director of equity research at Victory Capital Management, which owns 2.7 million shares of Boeing. "I think a strike would be welcome in some respects by shareholders," Turgeon said. "The last thing you want to see is the union signing these generous labor contracts that provide all kinds of expensive benefits."

Union members explain that Boeing's offer for a 6 percent bonus in the first year of the contract and a 2.5 percent raise in the second and third years, along with a slight raise in pension payments, is offset by several thousand dollars a year in increase in health premiums.

The most important issue, however, according to many IAM members at Boeing is the question of job security.

Matt Bates from the IAM explained that the company's contract proposal would give Boeing management the right to carry out wholesale subcontracting. "They want to gut job security and weaken rights of recall," he said. "And they want the right to bring subcontractors and vendors into the union shop."

Ernest Mailhot is a meat packer and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in the Seattle area.

Support farm workers' struggles

The solidarity shown for the struggles of farm workers during the march and rally in California helps point the road forward in bringing union organization to the fields. It will take a massive social battle—with the full backing and mobilization of the labor movement—for the hundreds of thousands of farm workers to force the bosses to recognize their union and sign contracts.

Working people and fighting youth don't have to wait for such titanic struggles to weigh into the battle. The march and rally in Sacramento showed the number of organizing drives and union skirmishes that are ongoing across the state. They are part of a crucial resistance that will not go away, and will not let the capitalist growers claim victory over farm labor.

Like the battles of the Palestinian people against the dispossession of their land by colonial-settler Israel, long-term struggles often must be waged in order for there to be the possibility to fight when broader conditions ripen. Thousands of farm workers—and a wider number of working people in other industries—are gaining experience in these struggles, drawing the lessons of the tricks and divisions perpetrated by the bosses and their government, and seeing the necessity of relying on their own collective power.

Historically the bosses—always with the collusion of the federal, state, and local governments—have kept agricultural wage laborers in the weakest position possible from the point of view of organizing unions or charting a course of political struggle.

In *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* Jack Barnes writes that a "factory in the fields is more difficult to organize than a factory within four walls. The increasingly seasonal and migrant character of the labor force compounds the difficulties. Farm workers also face some of the most powerful monopolies in the world, whose interests are protected by the federal, state, and local governments."

Despite these obstacles, the United Farm Workers union was able to score significant victories in the 1970s, winning widespread support not only in the Southwest but across the country. Through the struggle the union came to defend undocumented workers against victimization and deportation, one of the most brutal weapons wielded by the bosses, cops, and government at all levels.

The experience of the last several decades has shown it will take a determined, independent mass movement to force the growers to terms—even after union elections are won—and to extend the organizing drive to other sections of agriculture. The question of political organization and the need for independence from the liberal Democrats, or any other capitalist politicians, is sharply posed.

As longshore workers continue to fight for a contract in face of strike-breaking threats by the government, and union members at Boeing stand up to concession demands by the aerospace giant, there are plenty of opportunities for working people to widen the knowledge, understanding, and solidarity with their brothers and sisters who also labor for a wage in the fields.

U.S. Navy out of Vieques!

The August 24 march in Puerto Rico and other upcoming actions against the planned U.S. military exercises on the island of Vieques deserve the support of all working people. Rather than subordinating their struggles to the imperatives of U.S. imperialism, the fighters who are engaged in these protests are standing up to it and its war drive. By their stance and through their deeds, they prove that the fight to get Washington off their soil, and end their colonial subjugation, represents the future.

Since mid-1999, when an "errant" navy bomb killed a Vieques resident, many thousands of people in Puerto Rico and the United States have protested against the U.S. military's occupation of the island. The 23 days of exercises that will begin September 3 are a reminder that in spite of granting the occasional concession under the heat of this movement, Washington will continue to use Vieques as much as it can get away with. Few other pieces of land and shore offer the U.S. rulers the advantages that a colonial possession does in training their military for new wars of aggression.

Since Washington seized Puerto Rico as a colony more than a century ago, it has stationed thousands of troops there, and repeatedly used it as a launching pad for military assaults.

The U.S. rulers assert their right to do this as colonial masters of the territory. That is why Vieques is so important to them—because in their eyes it is "theirs." Puerto Ricans, including those who have been hauled off to jail for camping on "navy" land, could justifiably ask: "Who are the trespassers here?"

Today, Washington is driven to step up its use of military force to assert its primacy among its imperialist rivals, and to keep in line the workers and farmers of the semicolonial world. Its threats and violence reflect not strength but weakness. It drives to war at the same time as a long-term crisis of profits—accompanied by the rumblings of a potential collapse in the financial and banking system—restricts its ability to buy off a layer of working people. Guns, but no butter—that is what the U.S. imperialists have to offer working people and youth.

The trajectory of the last empire is not toward a "liberated Iraq" or any other country, in spite of the words of Vice President Richard Cheney. Rather it is toward wars of colonial conquest and subjugation, each of which exposes more of its flanks to national rebellions and struggles by workers and farmers across the globe.

Just in the last decade, as it has organized a series of wars and interventions, the U.S. government has been forced to station its troops on the territory of the Yugoslav and Afghan peoples whom it assaulted. Now figures in the ruling class are sharply posing the fact that a victorious assault on Iraq would of necessity be followed by a long-term occupation by U.S. troops.

The people of Puerto Rico know something of such colonial policies. They have endured a century of bitter experience of U.S. military occupation and colonial rule. Each generation, however, has brought forth fighters for self-determination and independence.

These are the stakes in building a movement to force the U.S. military off Vieques, and the United States imperialists off all of Puerto Rico. This is a fight in the interests of workers and farmers in the United States and across the globe who are exploited and oppressed by the imperialists. Increasing numbers of working people and youth engaged in struggle can be won to championing the demands:

No more bombing! U.S. out of Vieques! Independence for Puerto Rico!

'We're fighting imperialism'

Continued from Page 11

cluded a large sign that read "No to U.S. War on Iraq," drew a few thumbs up from passersby. Some stopped to talk including one woman who shook Fruit's hand and said, "I agree. Thank you for being here." Another person who stopped to talk told Fruit, "I signed your petition and that's right, we don't need this war."

Brian Taylor, running for governor of Alabama on the Socialist Workers ticket, recently campaigned at the University of Alabama, Birmingham and at the Black Belt Folk Roots Festival in Eutaw. Three students at the university and a young textile worker are interested in campaigning with Young Socialists for Taylor.

As he was warming up for his campaign, Taylor and other socialists participated in the 35th annual conference of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives August 15-16.

A table of Pathfinder books was appreciated by many in attendance. "This is a very good book!" said Darlene Stewart, smiling and pointing to a copy of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Jack Barnes.

Stewart and her husband Arnold attended the conference with a dozen or so members of Kentucky Minority Farmers. The Stewarts, who grow soybeans on their Ekron, Kentucky, farm, have visited the Pathfinder literature table for several years running. Darlene pointed to several other titles, including *Genocide Against the Indians*, that they had purchased on earlier visits, along with a *Militant* subscription. This year, she decided to add *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* to their collection.

Subscription drive: a boost to campaigns

The socialist election campaigns will get a boost from the upcoming fall subscription drive. A goal of 1,150 *Militant* and 500 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions has been set for the 10-week effort, September 7 to November 17. The goal includes sales of renewal subscriptions as part of increasing the long-term readership of the socialist press.

As the Bush administration beats the war drums against Iraq and the accompanying orchestrated "debate" among big-business politicians plays itself out, heightened polarization will bring increased interest in a working-class paper that tells the truth behind imperialism's prerogatives. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be the only press to place the war moves against Iraq in the context of Washington's goal to control a much larger swath of Mideast oil reserves at the expense of its imperialist rivals.

Militant supporters are taking an additional week to further discuss local goals for the campaign to sell *New International* magazine and *Capitalism's World Disorder.* In some areas it was unclear whether the book goals were based on all books sold or only those sold in combination with subscriptions to the socialist press. Any copies of *New International* or *Capitalism's World Disorder* sold during the drive will be included on the chart. An international goal will be set and listed in the next issue of the paper.

Tiff over FBI wiretap deceptions

Continued from front page

that neither the FBI nor the National Security Agency—a spy outfit that controls extensive eavesdropping operations overseas, as well as in the United States—had to go to a regular court to get a warrant. The government also set up a FISA appeals court that, until this latest case, has never been convened for lack of any cases.

FBI agents have been obtaining wiretaps by painting criminal investigations as matters of national security. "They use FISA because the procedures are so much looser," said James Dempsey of the Center for Democracy and Technology.

Writing in the August 27 *New York Times*, author James Bamford stated that Attorney General John Ashcroft's push to "increase his department's surveillance powers and subject citizens to investigative methods normally restricted to the tracking of spies has forced the court to publicize its worries." Ashcroft had requested broad authority to allow official and unrestricted collaboration between criminal prosecutors and counterintelligence investigators.

While such collaboration and exchange are not new, what is at issue is the open legitimizing of it under law.

The court said the Justice Department was guilty of "misinterpreting its new powers under the U.S.A. Patriot Act," reported CNN.com. Passed in October, that act broadened police powers of search, surveillance, and eavesdropping, and rewrote FISA's standards for issuing wiretaps to focus less exclusively on foreign intelligence gathering.

The ruling brought the ultrasecret FISA to public attention. The court, wrote Bamford, is "a modern Star Chamber" that "meets behind a cipher-locked door in a windowless bug-proof vault-like room guarded 24 hours a day on the top floor of the Justice Department building."

Cincinnati ruling opposes closed hearing

The government's offensive against workers' rights also came in for criticism in an August 26 ruling by the Cincinnati federal appeals court. This decision opposed the closed hearings through which immigrants who have been caught up in the post-September 11 "terrorism" investigation have been deported.

Last month the Labor Department reported that 752 people had been detained on immigration violations "in connection with" post-September 11 sweeps. As of late June, 81 remained in jail, and the rest had been deported or released.

Writing 10 days after September 11, chief immigration judge Michael Creppy issued a directive saying that the hearings would be conducted "separately from all other cases. The courtroom must be closed...no visitors, no family, and no press."

Supporters of Rabih Haddad, a native of Lebanon who is accused of overstaying his visa, brought the case to the Cincinnati court after they were denied entry to his deportation hearings under these guidelines. Haddad, who lives in Ann Arbor, Michigan, is the founder of the Global Relief Foundation, a Muslim charity whose funds have been frozen under a federal investigation.

The Cincinnati appeals court panel of three judges supported the demand to open up Haddad's hearings, and described Creppy's blanket directive as unconstitutional. The Bush administration, it said, had sought to place its actions "beyond public scrutiny."

Barbara Comstock, a spokeswoman for the Justice Department, responded by saying that the government has "an obligation to exercise all available options to disrupt and prevent terrorism within the bounds of the Constitution." She said she approved of another aspect of the ruling, which stated that prosecutors should argue for closed hearings on a case-by-case basis. The government, said the judges, should be able to muster "compelling interests sufficient to justify closure."

The government is holding open its options of appeal while several similar cases proceed through the court system.

Meanwhile, police in Wilmington, Delaware, have set up a "pre-crime" database of people they categorize as likely future lawbreakers, many of whom have no criminal record. Most of the 200 people placed on the file since it was set up in June are working people who are Black or Latino.

The database is compiled from information gathered by two drug units known as "jump-out squads" because of their "quick-arrest" procedures. Many of those who have ended up on the database were stopped briefly for "loitering."

"I don't care what anyone but a court of law thinks," said Mayor James Baker in response to criticism. "Until a court says otherwise, if I say it's constitutional, it's constitutional."

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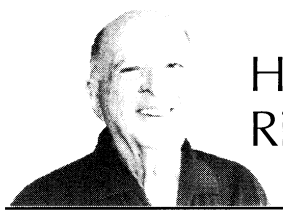
— GREAT SOCIETY



Harry Ring

The pancake king—In Des Moines, Iowa, the prez urged employers to hire more workers. And, in his typically rich rhetoric, he declared: "We may face a bump in the road, but the road will flatten out."

The well-paved road—A survey of 350 large companies found that the average pay increase for chief executives last year was limited to 6.9 percent, the smallest in more than a decade, leaving them, on average, to get by on $7 million a year.

Nobody else wants them?—Michael Eisner, top dog at the Walt Disney empire, announced he was buying $10 million in company shares on the open market to underline his confidence in its bright future.

We couldn't help but worry—What if Eisner's $10 million was flushed down the pipe? Even for a big- time operator, it's still a lot of bread. But on reading the *New Yorker*, we turned over and went back to sleep: the magazine reports that from 1996 to 2001, Eisner was paid a rough average of $145 million a year

No castration program?—The Bush administration has been offering federal funds to states for "sex education" programs, strictly limiting such programs to "abstinence." In Louisiana, which got with the program, the state supreme court knocked it down as a violation of separation of church and state. The program has been using tax dollars to distribute bibles, organize prayer rallies outside abortion clinics, etc.

Read it, retch, and rebel—"Internal documents show two drug companies knew a pharmacist was diluting cancer [chemotherapy] drugs as long as three years before his arrest." According to patients' attorneys, "Eli Lily dismissed the allegations [and] Bristol Meyers did not respond to requests for comments."—*Washington Post*.

Mr. Big Nose outsources—A while back Attorney General John Ashcroft announced plans to recruit millions of volunteers to ferret out "terrorists" among their neighbors. One opponent of the anti-liberties scheme signed up to get an idea of how it works. He enlisted on the appropriate web site and was promptly welcomed aboard by the Justice Department.

After waiting a month for how-to advice, he called the department and asked what to do with a tip. He was given a supposed FBI number which, he was advised, had been set up by the agency to handle tips. At that number, a receptionist explained, it was the TV program, "America's Most Wanted." She said they had been asked by the FBI to take incoming terrorist tips.

One saves you ten, nice, no?—Only a shyster lawyer or an elderly billionaire would comprehend. Recently a couple of keen-eyed ambulance chasers found a loophole in a 1913 law exempting "widows and orphans" from taxes on inherited insurance. The wealthy are using the loophole to sidestep gift taxes in passing on their inheritances.

Your attention, please—A while back we reported—perhaps not wisely—that we were hip deep in clippings sent in by readers. Now things are back to normal—a steady flow of clippings sufficient to keep the column going. So do your part to keep the supply at "enough plus." Send items to Great Society, c/o Pathfinder Books, 4229 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, CA. 90011.

Workers to challenge lockout at Friction Dynamics

BY JOYCE FAIRCHILD AND GERARD ARCHER

CAERNARFON, North Wales—Union members at auto parts maker Friction Dynamics here are building toward a hearing before the industrial tribunal in which they will challenge the lockout by the bosses, which has now lasted almost a year and a half.

The workers are planning to turn out en masse with their supporters to present their case for reinstatement. On the day of our visit, a large sign on the picket line read "59 days" until the hearing. Each day, we were told, the number is reduced by one.

"By the time the tribunal case is heard on October 7, the workers will have been outside the gates for 17 months," said John Davies. The union leader will be the test case at the hearing. "All the locked-out workers will be present for the hearing and other supporters have said they're coming," he said.

Friction Dynamics owner Craig Smith launched the lockout after members of the Transport and General Workers' Union held a one-week strike in April 2001. Workers had walked out to protest a company drive to impose a 15 percent wage cut, end shift pay, and introduce longer working days with no overtime. The company also sought to restrict union meetings and the number of shop stewards at the plant.

Union members rejected the concessions and approved a walkout by a 93 percent margin. Upon returning to work after the one-week strike, the bosses handed workers an unscheduled "holiday," effectively locking them out. In response the workers set up picket lines to continue their fight. Owner Craig Smith then sacked 87 workers and carried out a previously announced redundancy (layoff) of 24 more.

On the picket line Dewi Williams said that it is important for the union to win a favorable ruling from the industrial court, and noted that the fight is "not just for ourselves." Williams was two months short of retiring when the lockout started and refused to work despite being offered his job back.

"Employers around the country are looking at this dispute," he said. "They know that the conditions the scabs are working under are what any employer would love. They're at their beck and call. They are called in for two hours at night without notice. They are moved from job to job at will. They're not getting shift pay even when they pull people in at night. They're not getting overtime pay until after 48 hours of work, and they include Saturday and Sunday as part of the 48 hours when it suits them."

The local newspaper reported April 25 that Michael Short, one of the scab workers, lost the thumb and all the fingers on his right hand after his glove was caught in a metal rolling machine at the plant last October. Owing to the seriousness of the case the Caernarfon Magistrates ruled that it should be taken up by a Crown Court for sentencing. On June 28 the court fined the company £20,000 and ordered it to pay costs of £5,697 (£1 = US $1.53).

The continuing support the union members have in the community and the labor movement is readily evident on the picket line. Around one in three drivers of cars and lorries that pass the picket line toots their horn. Recent contributions include £1,400 from the Communications Workers and Firefighters, raised at national conferences of the two unions in Blackpool. Many unions continue to send donations on a regular basis.

Unionists at Navistar walk out in face of company provocations

Continued from Page 16

sion controls on new trucks come into effect in the United States October 1. So the company cranked up the line speed and is now putting out 65 trucks a day, up from 35, to beat the deadline.

But when the recalled workers entered the plant they were handed a layoff notice for November, bringing to 500 the number of workers who have been informed they will be dismissed at that time. The layoff will affect workers with up to 25 years seniority.

CAW national representative Joe McCabe said that he doesn't believe that layoffs will be anywhere near 500. He sees Navistar International chairman John Horne's statement on the layoffs as "saber rattling" in advance of negotiations with the United Auto Workers Union in the United States. The contract at the truck assembly plant in Springfield, Ohio, expires in October.

The August 23 *Financial Times* reported that Navistar plans to cut 10 percent of its U.S. workforce "as it moves to reduce fixed costs in the face of increasingly tough market conditions."

"We've got a lot of overhead [cost] structure that we're going to be taking out," John Horne, the company's chief executive, told the paper. "It's significant numbers of people." Horne said the company had cut wage and benefit costs from an average of $41 an hour in 1991 to around $30 today, and aims to further reduce them to $25 by the end of next year.

Union solidarity

Some 300 workers and their families participated in a solidarity appreciation barbecue on Saturday, August 17 at the union hall, to bring together all those who helped win the contract fight. Workers from CAW locals in Kitchener-Waterloo, London, and Windsor, who had played a vital role in defeating the company's attempt to bring in scabs and break the strike, were among those participating with their families.

A warm welcome was given to Pat and Mary Walker, the in-laws of Don Milner, who belongs to CAW Local 444 in Windsor. Milner was run down by a van driven by a security thug hired by the company. He has been in hospital since June 24 in critical condition. Mary Walker reported Milner's present condition and said that he is making some progress.

"Don was out there to stop something from happening. And I'm glad to say that it stopped," said Pat Walker. "We don't need scabs in Canada. We don't need hired guns in Canada. Our son did not get run over in vain."

At the barbecue many workers talked about the strong solidarity and unity in the plant, and the crucial support given by other CAW members during the struggle. "Our resolve resulted from the active support of other CAW locals. People here are now willing to support other union causes," said Rob McNiff.

Tony Di Felice is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 175 in Toronto. Ilona Gersh, a member of United Auto Workers Local 174 in Michigan, contributed to the article.

Hotel workers march in Chicago to demand decent contract

Militant/Betsey Stone

Chanting "No justice, no peace!" thousands of hotel workers rallied in Chicago August 23 as part of their fight for higher wages and lower health-care costs. Contingents lined up behind giant banners with the names of area hotels and marched up Michigan Avenue where many hotels are located. In the face of employer intransigence the members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union have voted to authorize a strike.

— LETTERS

Library pages

In a meeting held last week with approximately 300 library pages, the San Francisco Public Library administration announced that the pages, who shelve books and serve patrons at the circulation desks, will no long receive sick pay and vacation pay benefits.

Additionally, to evade contractual requirements to pay such benefits, the administration will lay off workers before they have worked 1040 hours.

Some pages are part-time college students, but the vast majority are immigrant workers. Many hold down two jobs while supporting their families here, and/or sending money home to family members in their countries of origin.

A meeting of 120 pages at Service Employees International Union Local 780 headquarters heard a report by the business agent on the negotiations with the administration. A second meeting to lay out a campaign against this attack on the union will be held next week.

Toba Singer
San Francisco, California

Yemeni seafarer

While selling the *Militant* to dockworkers at the Port of Oakland, the crew that had just brought in a container ship from China came out of the gates looking for a cab to take into town. One of the crewmen, a 24-year-old member of the Seafarers International Union from Yemen, bought a *Militant* because of the coverage on the Palestinian struggle. "I don't know that much about the dockworkers' fight here," he told us. "But this looks like a good place to read about it."

Bill Kalman
Albany, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Unions must break from capitalist politics

Printed below is an excerpt from the "Afterword" of *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for September. Copyright © 1977 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY FARRELL DOBBS

Basic to a rise in the workers' class consciousness is understanding that a fundamental change must take place in the role of the trade unions, which constitute the existing form of mass organization among the workers in this country. These broad instruments of struggle must be turned away from reliance upon so-called friends among the capitalist politicians. They must break off the self-defeating collaboration with the bosses' government, that has been imposed by bureaucratic misleaders.

The unions must be transformed into mechanisms for independent and militant action by the workers all along the line. Restrictions on the right to strike must be vigorously opposed and freedom to exercise that right firmly asserted. Internal union democracy must be established so that all questions can be decided on the basis of majority rule. Then, and only then, will organized labor manage to bring its full weight to bear in confrontations with the employers at the industrial level.

Whenever conflicts of significant magnitude erupt within industry today, the government intervenes on the employers' side; and this interference is bound to intensify as capitalist decay gets worse. From this it follows that trade union action alone will prove less and less capable of resolving the workers' problems, even on a limited basis. Objectively, industrial conflicts will assume more and more a political character, and even the most powerfully organized workers will be faced with an increasingly urgent need to act on the new and higher plane of politics.

Therefore, efforts to build an effective left wing in the trade unions will run into insurmountable obstacles unless the workers move toward resolving the problem of political action. A vigorous campaign must be conducted to break the labor movement from subordination to capitalist politics and to launch an independent labor political organization. This campaign will have to focus initially on educational propaganda for a change in labor's political course, but it should not be conducted in an abstract, routine manner. Ample opportunity will be found to concretize the propaganda by drawing the lessons of setbacks caused by the misuse of labor's inherent political strength. This can lay the basis for an advance, as soon as it becomes realistic, to an agitational campaign designed to convince the ranks of the urgency of forming a labor party.

In the process of creating their own mass party, based upon and controlled by the trade unions, the organized workers can draw unorganized, unemployed, and undocumented sections of their class into a broad political alliance. Labor will then be in a position to act both in a more unified manner and through advanced forms of struggle.

Political demands on the capitalists

The workers will learn to generalize their needs, as a class, and to address their demands on a political basis to the capitalists, as a class. Political confrontation of that kind—for example, the nationalization of a given industry under workers' control—will raise labor action as a whole to a higher plane and at the same time impart new vigor to the continuing trade union struggles. Increased militancy within industry will serve, in turn, to reinforce activity in the political sphere. In that way interacting processes will develop through which the workers will attain greater class consciousness, more complete solidarity, and, hence, mounting ability to outfight the bosses.

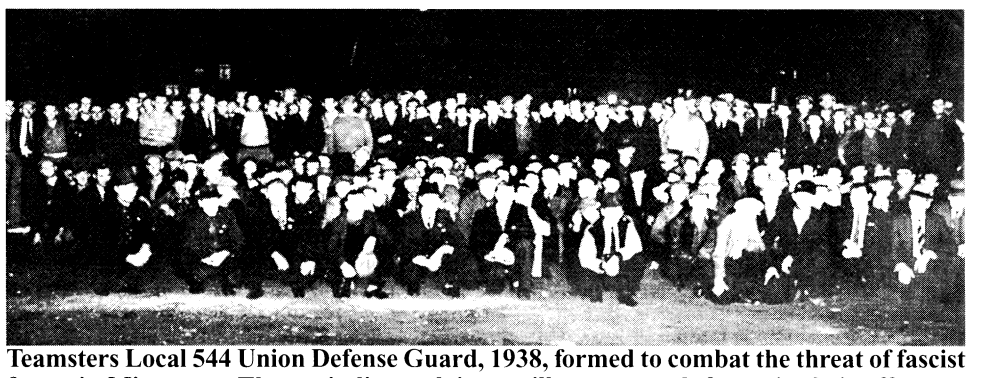
Before unity of the exploited masses can be attained, however, still another of organized labor's existing policies must be thoroughly reversed. The labor movement must champion and give unqualified support to the demands of the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other oppressed national minorities, and of women and youth.

As Leon Trotsky insisted in discussions during the 1930s, the American workers must learn to act politically and to think socially if they are to attain the class consciousness and solidarity needed to defeat the exploiters. This is the opposite of the narrow class-collaborationist course pursued by the labor bureaucracy and the privileged layers they reflect. Thus, as a matter of principle, the trade union movement must use its power to actively fight for such progressive demands as affirmative action programs against racial and sexual discrimination on the job, in the union, in hiring, housing, health care, and education; the right to abortion and child care; busing and bilingual, bicultural education; the right to a free college education for all youth.

If unconditional backing of that kind is given, the labor movement will be helping itself in a double sense. The strengthening of anticapitalist struggles on other fronts will make it harder for the employing class to concentrate its fire on the trade unions. The greater the scope of mass confrontations with the bosses' government, the more effectively will labor be able to involve its natural allies in the development of independent political action on a massive scale. This was true in the 1930s and it is even truer today, when women, oppressed nationalities, and workers under twenty have become the majority of the American work force and a substantial component of the union movement....

History shows that, as mass resistance to the capitalist exploiters grows, they will supplement the government's repressive role with extralegal forms of attack on those in rebellion. Some aspects of that trend have already become a familiar part of industrial and social struggles in this country: use of hired thugs and vigilantes against strikers, for instance, and of Ku Klux Klan-type terrorism against oppressed nationalities. Those are only forerunners of even harsher measures to come as the social crisis gets more acute. The most diabolical of the extralegal onslaughts will take the form of a fascist movement—heavily financed by monopoly capital—which will try to smash the trade unions and other protective organizations of the oppressed masses.

In looking for means of defense against such assaults, it would be fatal to rely on the bosses' government, no matter how liberal its face. Capitalist politicians in public office are themselves tools of the ruling class, which instigates the legal and extralegal violence used to keep the masses in line.



Teamsters Local 544 Union Defense Guard, 1938, formed to combat the threat of fascist forces in Minnesota. The capitalist exploiters will turn to such forces in their efforts to smash resistance by the labor movement and other organizations of the oppressed.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

September BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Pathfinder Readers Club SPECIALS — **25% DISCOUNT**

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FARRELL DOBBS

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Pathfinder Fund

Continued from front page

engulf the entire Mideast, from Saudi Arabia to Israel.

And many today are engaged in struggles—from union fights such as that of the West Coast longshore workers, to protests against the police brutalization of working people, to actions in opposition to Washington's economic war against Cuba.

These workers, student youth, and farmers are the main audience for Pathfinder books, which explain these developments and offer a working-class road out of the capitalist disaster. And they will also be the main source of contributors to the Pathfinder Fund.

Winning first-time contributors

Supporters of this fund drive are preparing to win dozens of first-time contributors. This includes fellow workers in packinghouses, coal mines, garment and textile plants, and other workplaces, as well as young people who are becoming interested in the communist movement.

A contribution from a worker or farmer who has recently become a reader of Pathfinder books—whether it's $20 or $100 or $5—will give momentum to winning new contributions from other working people. And it will encourage longtime contributors to Pathfinder to boost their donations.

To wage a bold fund-raising campaign, partisans of Pathfinder are organizing plans for the next 11 weeks to ensure a steady, weekly collection of payments from September 1 through November 17. In every city they are preparing Pathfinder Fund benefits within the next few weeks.

In London, a public meeting will be held September 6 to celebrate the publication of the new title *Their Trotsky and Ours* by Jack Barnes, featuring Michel Prairie, Pathfinder's French-language editor. The same weekend, Romina Green and Martín Koppel are speaking in Philadelphia on the class struggle in South America and prospects for building the socialist movement in the United States.

Other meetings will focus on topics ranging from class-struggle developments in the United States to the 40th anniversary of the October 1962 "missile" crisis, when the Cuban people stood down Washington's invasion moves and threat of nuclear war.

The fund drive will get a boost from the simultaneous campaign to gain new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, in which campaigners will be going into the streets with literature tables or door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods. They will meet people interested in Pathfinder books who are potential contributors to the fund effort.

Fall publishing program

Pathfinder has undertaken an ambitious publishing program this fall. Adding to its arsenal of more than 375 books and pamphlets in several languages, the publisher is preparing 12 new titles between now and the end of December. Promoting, selling, and studying these new books will generate momentum that can be used to win contributions for the $105,000 fund. These books are:

• *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Tomás Diez;

• A new Spanish-language edition and an expanded English edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*;

• *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon in Cuba's Revolutionary War*, in both English and Spanish;

• A French-language edition of *Their Trotsky and Ours*, adding to the English and Spanish;

• New Spanish and French editions of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, by Jack Barnes;

• issue no. 12 of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory distributed by Pathfinder, with documents on the unfolding class struggle in the world and perspectives for building the communist movement;

• A second French edition of *The History of American Trotskyism*, by James P. Cannon;

• *The Assault on Moncada*, by Mario Mencía, on the birth of the revolutionary movement that led Cuban workers and farmers to the 1959 revolutionary victory;

• The memoirs, in English and Spanish, of Cuban revolutionary leader Armando Hart on the revolutionary urban underground in Cuba in the 1950s.

In addition, Pathfinder is reprinting dozens of titles, including many that are selling out. One is *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*—an order of 100 was recently placed by a college in Fresno, California. Other out-of-stock titles that are going back to press include *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It* by Leon Trotsky; *Maurice Bishop Speaks*; and *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* by Philip Foner.

Many of these titles will be featured at international book fairs and festivals this fall. These include the Fête de L'Humanité, sponsored by the French Communist Party, and the Spanish CP's Fiesta, large festivals being held September 13-15 in Paris and Madrid, respectively. Others are the September 19-22 Gothenburg Book Fair, the largest such annual event in Scandinavia, and the Guadalajara International Book Fair in the first week of December, one of the largest book fairs in Latin America. International teams of Pathfinder supporters will be staffing booths at all these events.

The chart on this page lists the quotas adopted in local areas so far. In the next issue the *Militant* will run a chart with the initial results of the fund campaign. Checks should be made out to Pathfinder and sent to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. To be counted in the *Militant*'s weekly scoreboard, payments must be received in the *Militant* offices by Tuesdays at noon.

Militant/Susan Lamont

Participants in the August conference of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, held in Epes, Alabama, look over Pathfinder books. The Pathfinder Fund helps ensure revolutionary books and pamphlets are available to farmers, workers, and youth around the world.

$105,000 Pathfinder Fund

	Goal
Atlanta	
Birmingham	
Boston	
Brooklyn	3,200
Charlotte	3,000
Chicago	5,500
Cleveland	1,500
Des Moines	1,200
Detroit	3,000
Houston	5,000
Los Angeles	
Miami	
Newark	3,600
Northeast PA	1,200
NY Garment District	5,000
Omaha	900
Philadelphia	3,500
Pittsburgh	4,200
San Francisco	8,500
Seattle	
Tampa	2,000
Twin Cities	5,000
Upper Manhattan	3,600
Washington, D.C.	
Western Colorado	2,600
U.S. total	**62,500**
Australia	1,300
Canada	4500
France	
Iceland	
New Zealand	1,200
Sweden	1,400
United Kingdom	
International total	**$70,900**
INT'L GOAL	**$105,000**

Brooklyn longshore strikers fight concessions

BY PAUL PEDERSON

BROOKLYN, New York—"The company was hoping that some of us would go out and others would stay in but everybody went out together," said Alvin Lawrence about the longshore workers' strike against American Warehousing Inc. here.

Lawrence is one of 50 members of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1814 who unload cocoa on the piers along the Brooklyn waterfront. After working for five months without a contract the unionists overwhelmingly rejected the company's offer August 12 and struck.

In 1999, the Brooklyn piers together with Port Newark became the leading U.S. points of entry for cocoa beans. The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey owns the Brooklyn Marine Terminal, where cocoa beans used by Nestle's, Hershey, and other manufacturers are stored. American Warehousing operates these warehouses, which in 1999 stored 2.2 million bags of cocoa.

Two-man teams of workers normally unload up to 1,200 sacks of cocoa per eight-hour shift. The company is seeking to force them to unload 1,500 per shift. The sacks weigh up to 170 pounds and are unloaded from shipping containers that can reach temperatures of 120 degrees. The bosses also want a clause allowing them to schedule mandatory overtime including on weekends. Workers refusing mandatory overtime three times would be subject to dismissal.

"This work is dangerous," explained Mario González. "The oil from the cocoa bean is slick. If you are not working very carefully it will cause a serious accident." Breathing fibers from the sacks causes additional health problems. The company tried to fire a worker who opened a door to ventilate his work area.

"This is slavery," declared Anthony Cucuzza. "This contract offer is the worst I've ever seen. I've been in the union for 25 years. I will lose three of my four weeks of vacation. And the company wants to take away five of our paid holidays. The pension offer is unbelievable. They want to contribute only 40 cents per day to the pension fund, which comes out to $8 per month. You can't even see a movie for less than $9 dollars." The company wants to raise the cost of health insurance as well.

The bosses say they need the concessions to compete with nonunion outfits in Philadelphia. Strikers report they have brought replacement workers in from New Jersey.

The union is demanding a one-dollar raise over the next year, sick days, which they presently do not get, and a better pension plan. Raul Vasquez, Jr., vice president of ILA Division 4, who was visiting the picket line, said the company was beginning negotiations.

Asked if the strike had brought the workers together, the dozen unionists who heard the question responded with an emphatic yes. "This strike has made us stronger and more unified," Cucuzza said. "In 25 years on the waterfront this is my first strike. Our only protection is the union. Without unions we have nothing."

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

September 9, 1977

CHICAGO—Black parents and students are demanding full police protection as a very limited desegregation program goes into effect with the opening of public schools here.

For the first time, Black students expect to be transferred from their overcrowded schools into underutilized schools in the all-white Bogan district on the city's southwest side. Previous transfer plans exempted this area after massive racist protests.

So far, fewer than 1,000 out of some 6,000 eligible students have signed up to transfer. Many Black and Latino parents fear for the safety of their children and have hesitated to approve their transfer. That these fears are well-grounded is shown by a review of some of the recent racist attacks and mobilizations here:

• Earlier this summer Black kindergarten-to-third-grade students picnicking in Calumet Park on the southeast side were assaulted by a racist mob and driven out of the park.

• Racist meetings and demonstrations have attracted hundreds of white racists, who have paraded near the mayor's home, sat in at city hall, and packed meetings of the school board. They are demanding an end to the transfer plan, saying they won't permit even one Black student to enter the Bogan-area schools.

The racists carry signs saying "Resist," "Never," and "I'm white, and I'll fight."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

September 8, 1952

NEWARK, N.J.—George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator in New Jersey, last week gave the following answers to the 1952 questionnaire for congressional candidates sent to him by the League of Women Voters:

Q: What particular training and experience have you had that would qualify you for this office?

A: I have personally experienced the effects of the great depression; military service in World War II; inflation fostered by profiteering, and failure to control it; the runaround both major parties have given us on civil rights; the attempts they have made to impose thought control an the American people; and other consequences of foreign and domestic policies leading to a new war. Studying these evils taught me they are the products of a capitalist system in crisis and of the two-party system.

Q: What steps should Congress take to halt inflation?

A: Impose rigid price and rent controls to be policed by committees of trade unionists, housewives, shopkeepers and farmers. Enact a law automatically raising wages, pensions and unemployment compensation whenever the cost of living goes up. Nationalize the basic industries, all war plants, all banks, all natural resources, and operate in the interests of producers and consumers by democratically-elected committees of workers and technicians. Put a 100% tax on all arms industry profits.

THE MILITANT

Rally backs farm workers in California

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SACRAMENTO, California—Thousands of farm workers and their supporters, many waving red and black flags of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union, wound through the streets here August 25.

The action brought together workers from across the state who have fought for union recognition and contracts with the employers. It reflected the resistance of working people—from longshore workers to field laborers— to the assaults by the bosses and their government. Many present have been in the struggle to build a farm workers union for years.

The march from César Chávez Plaza to the state capitol capped a 165-mile, 11-day march from Merced to Sacramento. The UFW officialdom organized the march and rally to demand Democratic governor Gray Davis sign Senate Bill 1736. The legislation covers agricultural workers, mandating binding arbitration between a union and the growers if contract talks come to an impasse.

"This march says that all workers and undocumented are legal and should get the same rights and benefits," said Guillermo García, who came from Delano. He has worked for various companies in the fields for more than 10 years. "If they say we don't have rights because we don't have papers then why do we have to pay taxes?

Militant/Deborah Liatos

Thousands of farm workers rallied in Sacramento, California, August 25 to demand union recognition and contracts with the employers.

A fight for jobs

"I work in the grape fields," García said. "Many companies pay overtime after 60 hours or seven days' work. But before that it is straight time. In the region of Corcoran many don't pay overtime even after 60 hours. If we don't fight for jobs, we won't win. Those who work in the fields see the reality. The bosses only see their profits." García said.

García's daughter, Margarita Ayala, has worked for one year in the fields in Delano. "I worked as a computer teacher in Mexico, but work was irregular there. The bosses where I work yell at you a lot and you can't say anything because they might fire you."

One contingent followed a banner that read, "*Justicia para los Braceros!*" (Justice for the braceros). In 1942, Washington began the Bracero program, which provided capitalist growers with a steady flow of superexploited immigrant farm labor from Mexico. These workers had no rights, were legally barred from joining unions, and were subject to arbitrary deportations. About 5 million Mexican workers participated in the Bracero program, which ended in 1964.

Part of the program involved employers deducting pay, supposedly to send it to a bank account in Mexico for workers to withdraw upon their return. Many say they never received the funds and are fighting for their stolen wages to be paid.

Workers from Coastal Berry in Watsonville and Salinas in Northern California carried a banner. A UFW organizing drive there was defeated by the company in 1999. UFW workers from Pictsweet and Muranaka Farms in Oxnard and from Calexico in San Fernando Valley marched. Members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union joined the action as well. Many placards demanded that Governor Davis sign SB 1736.

The number of workers in the union has dropped from 100,000 to 27,000 over the past 25 years. There are around 500,000 workers employed by the growers in California. U.S. Department of Labor statistics show that 75 percent of California farm workers earned $10,000 a year or less in 1998, while 90 percent didn't have health insurance.

California has the nation's largest and fastest growing agricultural industry, valued at $27 billion.

Massive struggles by farm workers, who were an integral part of the mass-based Chicano movement in California, forced the state to recognize their bargaining rights and pass the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975.

The UFW has won 428 elections in the past 27 years but employers at only 185 of these workplaces have ever signed a contract. The UFW officialdom's pursuit of Senate Bill 1736 parallels its strategy of relying on the Democratic Party "friends of labor" to counter the antiunion drive of the bosses. Currently the UFW has 50 contracts with growers.

Participation from across the state

A contingent of the Service Employees International Union carried a banner that read, "Justice for Janitors Demands Legalization Now." They raised and lowered the banner in rhythm with their chant of "*Arriba la unión! Abajo la explotación*" (Up with the union! Down with exploitation!).

A contingent of workers marched from the Volunteers of the Community in San Jose, which has been organizing protests in the Bay Area demanding the state end discriminatory practices that effectively bar many immigrants from being eligible for a drivers license.

Dozens of buses came from around California, including from San Francisco, Bakersfield, Lamont, Arvin, Delano, Los Angeles, and Oxnard.

Herman Monroy, a young construction worker from Sacramento, said this was his first march. "I am here for justice. We would like a union where I work," Monroy said.

Socialist Workers candidate for secretary of state Olympia Newton campaigned at the rally representing the statewide slate, which includes Nan Bailey for governor and William Kalman for lieutenant governor.

Gia Moreno, a student at Sacramento City College, came by a rally and the end of the 165-mile march. "When I heard the drums pass by my house I told my neighbors—'they're here.' My grandpa was a farm worker and my father walked with the march yesterday," Moreno said.

Deborah Liatos is a meat packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120.

Judge bans pro-independence Basque party

BY RÓGER CALERO

A Spanish judge banned a pro-independence Basque political party on August 26. Baltasar Garzón, touted by the big-business media as "Spain's leading antiterrorist judge," issued the ruling based on his allegation that the party, Batasuna, is tied to ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom), an outlawed pro-independence Basque organization.

The Basque people, who live in northern Spain and southern France, have a long history of struggling for their national self-determination against the central government in Madrid.

Garzón issued a three-year injunction ordering the closure of all Batasuna offices and businesses, and barring the party from holding public meetings or street demonstrations. His court order also froze the party's bank accounts and closed down its web site in Spain.

Batasuna has more than 600 elected officials in town councils and the Basque regional parliament. The party has polled between 10 percent and 18 percent of the vote in Basque elections.

The political ban is part of the Spanish government's long-standing efforts to stifle the Basque national struggle in the name of "fighting terrorism."

"The countdown to the end of the political arm of terrorism has started," Spanish prime minister José María Aznar gloated the day before Garzón announced his decision.

Following the ruling, the Spanish parliament approved a motion asking the Supreme Court to permanently ban the party on the basis that it has refused to condemn ETA as a "terrorist organization." The two parties sponsoring the measure, the ruling right-wing Popular Party and the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE), accused Batasuna of "fostering a climate of intimidation that has destroyed the exercise of pluralism and democracy."

The United Left electoral coalition, led by the Spanish Communist Party, abstained on the motion. The Basque Nationalist Party, which governs the Basque region, opposed the move.

Hundreds of Batasuna supporters turned out to protest the court decisions in front of party headquarters throughout the Basque region. The youthful demonstrators were violently removed by riot police using tear gas and rubber bullets. On August 23, thousands of people marched through the Basque city of Bilbao in support of Batasuna.

"If anyone thinks that Garzón, or the Popular Party or the Socialists can finish us off, they are wrong," said Joseba Permach, a Batasuna official. "This ban will find an appropriate response on every street in the Basque region."

Washington responded favorably to the decision by the Spanish rulers. U.S. State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher justified the decision saying that "the action was not directed against a legitimate political activity or freedom of expression, but because it is based in the proven links that Batasuna maintains with the terrorist group ETA."

Judge Garzón, a social democrat, has made a name for himself by asserting the authority of imperialist governments to arrest and try individuals around the world—from former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet to Argentine military officials—in the name of opposing "crimes against humanity."

New walkout lets Navistar know union's strength

BY TONY DI FELICI

CHATHAM, Ontario—Workers at the Navistar International truck assembly plant walked off the job the morning of August 16 after a company official indefinitely suspended assembler Bob Dickenson for refusing to train another employee.

The members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 127 went straight to the union hall to discuss their response to the continuing harassment by the bosses.

The workers have been back in the plant for about a month after waging a hard-fought six-week strike. By mobilizing support in the labor movement they turned back a company assault and attempt to run the plant with strikebreakers. Navistar settled the walkout, withdrawing concessions it had attempted to wrest from the workers.

The bosses had ordered Dickenson to train the worker and complete his regular job, at the same time and in different areas of the plant. He was called to the office without a union representative present and suspended. Before the strike last April the company had suspended four workers in similar circumstances, but then agreed to contract stipulations that a representative of the workers be present.

Workers' response

In response to this new attack, the workers downed their tools and surrounded the office, demanding that the suspension be revoked. The bosses refused and escorted Dickenson out of the plant. The rest of the workers were then told that their pay "would be suspended as of 9:00 a.m." At that point the workers walked out.

As a result of this action Dickenson's suspension was reduced to one day. The strikers returned to work the following day for the mandatory Saturday overtime.

Earlier in the week almost all the workers had worn union T-shirts in response to a company attempt to pressure them into wearing clothes with Navistar's insignia to commemorate the company's 100th anniversary. The union shirt depicts the back of a school bus carrying scabs by a roadside sign that says, "Chatham: a scab-free community."

Rob McNiff, an assembler with 25 years at the plant, said in an interview that the union members are "showing the company what solidarity is all about. We showed them in the strike, and we'll show them again."

When the workers returned to the plant July 22 following the strike, the company recalled 223 previously laid-off workers, bringing the workforce to more than 800. Workers reported that the company wanted to increase production because new emis-

Continued on Page 13